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PROGRESSIVE LABOR

Vol. 8, No. 5 August 1972

QUEBEC GENERAL STRIKE

GROWING WORKING-CLASS POWER AIMS AT BOSSES

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'EVIL, YES! LESSER, NO!'

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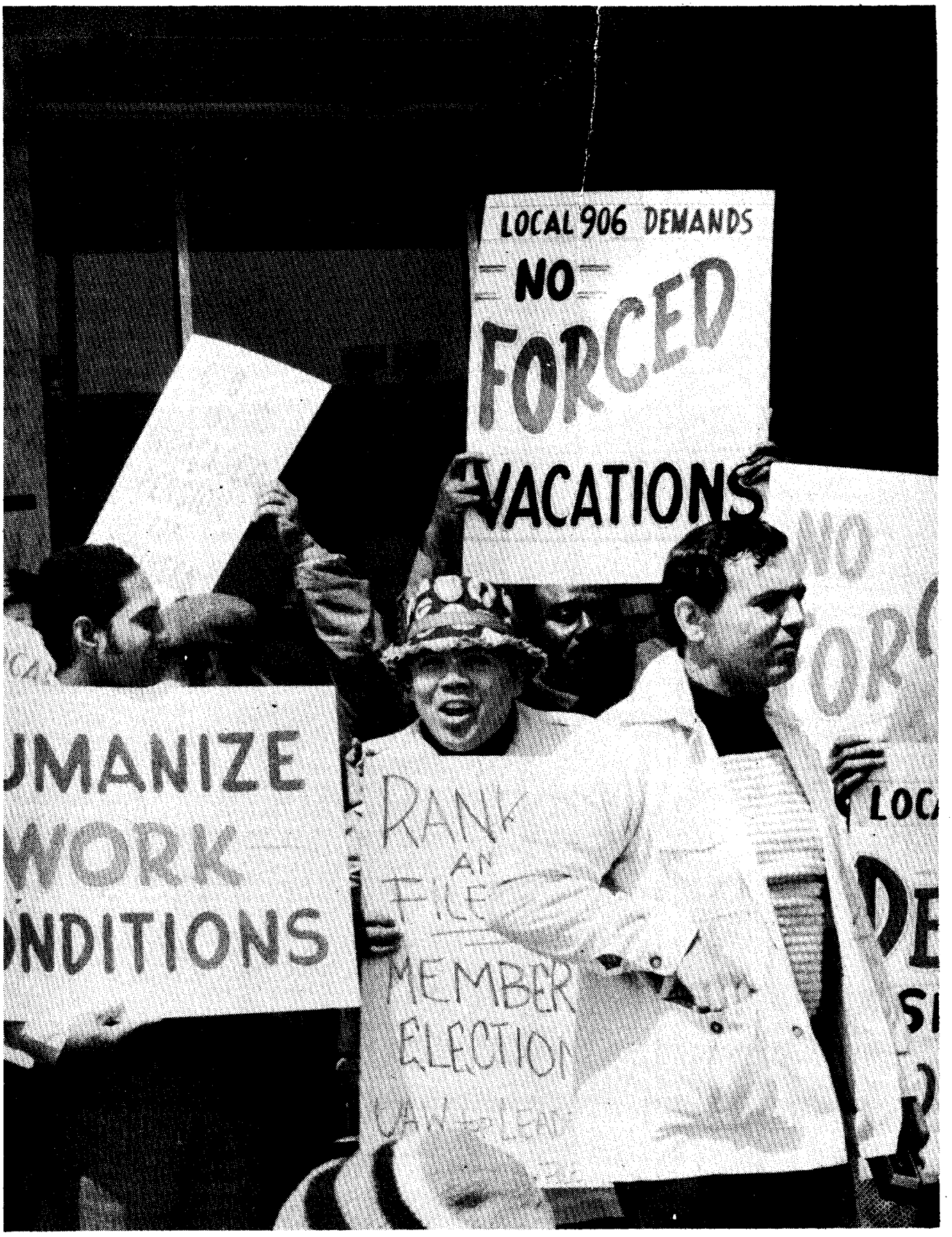


UAW Convention, April 1972

Revolutionary Internationalism Will Defeat Counter-revolution

With the Nixon visit to China behind us and the visit to Moscow upon us we can pause to evaluate the historical meaning of the significant changes occurring internationally. Under full glare of the imported American T.V. cameras, the Chinese leaders buried once and for all their revolutionary past. While Mao and Chou-en-lai wined and dined the hated chieftain of U.S. imperialism, their diplomats in New York treated the New York Pig Department to a sumptuous feast; then bought a 4-1/2 million dollar motel to serve as a headquarters of U.S.-Chinese collusion—throwing 100 workers into the street in the process.

Thus the Chinese Communist Party buried the old communist movement which hundreds of millions of workers around the world had once pinned their hopes on. Yet the old movement had been rotting from the inside for some decades. The revisionism, nationalism, and united fronts with imperialists, capitalists, militarists and even fascists had long betrayed the revolutionary principles upon which the movement was founded fifty years ago. The disgusting banquets, slobbering toasts to Nixon and exchange of zoo animals revealed this united front strategy in all its ugliness.

Yet out of the ashes of the old movement a new sturdier movement is arising that will one day occupy center stage in world history. The insurrection in Ceylon, April 1971 (See PL V. 8 #4) was a brilliant harbinger of things to come. The young revolutionaries of Ceylon set out to overthrow the capitalist regime that was oppressing workers, students and peasants of Ceylon, and in doing so they explicitly pledged themselves to destroy "nationalism, revisionism, trotskyism and Maoist opportunism," the four horsemen of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

The revolution failed in the most immediate sense, but the organization and the movement continue . Not only in Ceylon but in India, China, Western Europe, Puerto Rico, North America and elsewhere young revolutionaries are regrouping themselves and breaking with the ideas and leaders that have held communism back for over 30 years. The ideas we put forward in "Road to Revolution III" (PL V. 8 #3) are being seen as of some value to revolutionaries around the world. This is testified to by the translations of "Road to Revolution III" in many languages by revolutionary groups from China to Sweden.

Here in the U.S. we have seen that when we carry our ideas to the people there is a tremendous response. The recent SDS convention, which brought together 1500 students of all races and from several nations around a fighting program to end racism, resoundingly silenced the pundits who were proclaiming the student movement dead. The recent Workers Action Movement convention where U.S. and Canadian workers began organizing a campaign for a shorter work week is proving to be an important start in a battle to attack the heart of the capitalist profit system. Finally the increasing use of the revolutionary communist paper **Challenge** in these and other reform struggles is proving to be the vehicle in which these reform battles can be tied together and related to the long-term perspective of overthrowing the capitalist system.

The next step for our party as well as for the other anti-revisionist parties and groups around the world is to recapture the leadership of the mass movement from the assorted liberals, nationalists, revisionist, trotskyites and Maoist opportunists who have dominated for so long. For so long as these bourgeois forces continue to control trade unions, the anti-war movement and other organizations the imperialists still enjoy great maneuverability. And until communist ideas come to the fore in the mass movement, it will be the capitalists and not the workers who decide such questions as war or peace, fascism or democracy and economic depressions or inflation. Until new communist forces can enter center stage, rivalry between the various imperialist powers and their various coalitions will continue to be a main focus in the international arena.

A letter to the last **PL** by D.N.W. (PL V. 8 #4 p. 9) misses this point. For unless communists take part

in the leadership of the class struggle the way the class struggle expresses itself most often is through imperialist rivalry. This is because the imperialist rivalry we talked about in "Imperialists at Each Other's Throats" (PL V. 8 #2) is precisely an important expression of class struggle.

History shows that if the communist movement is not strong enough to prevent it, the imperialists become bold, ignore the wishes of the people and launch wars, big and small, to redivide the world. When the Second International became weak and infested with nationalism and revisionism, the imperialists launched World War I. When the Third International became ineffective because of the dominance of the "united front with the bourgeoisie" line, the imperialists launched World War II. Unfortunately, we live in such a period today. That is why this is a period of **wars** as well as revolutions.

This doesn't mean World War III is imminent (several factors we deal with below make this unlikely—though by no means impossible), but it does mean at least a period of smaller wars by proxy such as the Bangladesh war, the June 1967 Mid-East war and Vietnam. We can characterize the period by three main trends: (1) the steady decline of the power and influence of U.S. imperialism and its junior partner British imperialism. (2) the corresponding growth of the Russian imperialists as they slowly take over pieces of the old Anglo-American empire. (3) shifting alliances and jockeying for position between these two main powers by the secondary powers—the Japanese, German, French and Chinese imperialists.

U.S. decline shows up most sharply in its financial crisis. Despite Nixon's self-proclaimed monetary victory of last November, the dollar crisis gets steadily worse. In February the U.S. imperialists suffered a trade deficit of close to $600 million; it was the fifth consecutive month of U.S. trade deficits; this despite the import surcharges, the dollar devaluations and the other monetary "victories" won by Nixon in November. In 1971 the U.S. had its first trade deficit since 1888, some $2 billion; already in the first two months of 1972 the U.S. traders lost $1 billion. (At this rate 1972's trade deficit will be $6 billion.) Because of the war in Vietnam and the expenses of keeping hundreds of thousands of troops overseas, the balance of payments is always much worse. This leads to terrific pressure on the dollar.

In the early weeks of the year there was another serious run on the dollar caused by insiders' information on the magnitude of U.S. trade troubles. It was a more serious run than the run last summer which led to the dollar's devaluation. This time the European Central Bankers stepped in to save the dollar. The German, French and Japanese imperialists bought enough of the dollars to take the heat off and save the U.S. from devaluation. On the surface it might seem like a self-sacrificing move, buying dollars at more than their market value, especially when they are no longer convertible into gold. Actually, it was a wise move from their point of view. First of all they lose nothing for so long as the dollar is not devalued, and it is now the Europeans and Japanese who call that shot, not Washington. The dollars they bought will buy U.S. goods at no loss. Secondly, if they force the dollars devaluation again, they stand to lose the bulk of their U.S. trade. And thirdly another dollar devaluation would provoke serious U.S. retaliation which at this point could hurt European and Japanese capital.

Actually the European and Japanese capitalists are enjoying the best of both worlds. With the dollar so shaky they need not fear serious U.S. investment in their countries or in their spheres of influence, and the dollar is overvalued enough that they can make a mint out of the U.S. trade. Moreover, now they have the U.S. dollar by its throat. Any time they want they can literally crush the dollar by releasing the huge amounts of U.S. currency that they hold. In effect they hold the dollar for ransom. The central figures in this drama are the German imperialists. Generally, the big money circles in Western Europe look to the German Central Bank for guidance, and the French and Japanese have to go along or risk being left out in the cold. The Germans with their connections in Switzerland, Austria and the Low Countries have it in their power to save or sink the dollar so the French and Japanese will take their cue from Bonn. For the coming period they will probably continue to uphold the dollar and enjoy U.S. trade while Washington loses more and more of its monetary independence, and Wall Street finds it more difficult to invest abroad. At some future time (not too distant) this situation will take on grave ramifications—even war—to redivide the world or grab the U.S. empire. But first there have to be the material and ideological preparations for war, and secondly the ambitions of Russia have to be taken into account. It's a strange mixture and very difficult to balance—in the long run it will explode.

For the Germans, serious conflict with the U.S. is impossible as long as the Russians occupy 1/3 of their country. Strong sections of the German ruling class are deadly opposed to the Moscow Treaty and want it renegotiated to include some more tangible promise that one day they will get control again of the East. The East German capitalists for their part fear this and opposed even the old Moscow Treaty. Obviously they prefer being second fiddle to the Russians in 1/3 of Germany than second fiddle to Krupps, Thyssens et al in all of Germany. This could change, but suffice it to say that if the German question is ever "solved," it is going to mean curtains for somebody. Consequently, at this point, nobody but the West Germans are particularly anxious to "solve" it.

While the Europeans and the Japanese seem to be getting the cash and liquid assets from Uncle Sam's crumbling empire, the Russians are picking up the real estate. In the end of March the Soviets got their first full-scale naval base on the Indian Ocean (although they've been using Indian ports since last year and have lesser bases in Yemen and South Yemen). Bengladesh gave the Soviet Union full rights to rebuild the Port of Chittagong. This will give the Russians a large part of commercial control as well as naval control of the new nation. Thus the Soviet navy which for the last year or two has been the dominant force in the Bay of Bengal, will be able more easily to police its imperialist holdings in the four nations on the shores of the

Great leaps forward

Bay. (Ceylon, India, Burma, Bengladesh). These four nations together have a population close to that of China—25% of the world, and if present trends continue and the Russians gain full control of their economies and their political and military apparati, a tremendous change in the balance of forces will have occurred.

In the Mid-East, as well, the chips are falling the Russian way. The setbacks of 1967 and 1968 did them no long term damage. In fact, Egypt's defeat led the Egyptian ruling class straight into the loving arms of Brezhnev and Co. who show no signs of letting go. Now it is revealed that the Soviets are building a MIG plant in Egypt fully protected by Soviet troops. Even more significant is the Russian grab of the North Rumelia oil fields in Iraq. This is a direct blow to the Anglo-American oil cartel who (with the French as junior partners) until now have directly controlled all of Iraq's oil for over 50 years. The Soviet investment of $200 million is comparable to that of the cartel in any Mid-East country. And it proves that oil is the ultimate aim of all Soviet operations in the Mid-East from MIG factories in Egypt to secret negotiations with Israel. Mid-East oil is the lifeblood of European and Japanese industry as well as the lifeblood of the U.S. financial corporations; the significance of a Soviet grab here can't be underestimated.

Nixon's Vietnamization program went up in the smoke of the North Vietnamese spring offensive; proving once again that the Saigon puppet army would fall apart without U.S. support. The North Vietnamese have long since abandoned socialism or even people's war, so their apparent victory does not mean much for the people of South Vietnam, but it is another nail in the coffin of U.S. imperialism. When the Paris negotiations first started the U.S. imperialists were in such a position that by making a few compromises with Hanoi they could have remained, at least behind the scenes, as the dominant power in Vietnam. The Kennedy-Fulbright faction pushed for this agreement. The Nixon types, however, reasoned that if the North Vietnamese were willing to go that far then the U.S. imperialists could get even a better deal later on. They miscalculated; time works against the U.S. imperialists and Russian influence is rapidly becoming paramount in the North. When the Saigon regime collapses, as it sooner or later will, the U.S. imperialists who put all their eggs in Thieu's basket may be left out in the cold. An ignominious defeat for the U.S. and its puppets in Vietnam would pressage the loss of most of the remaining U.S. influence in South-East Asia. While there is some French, Japanese and Chinese influence around in that region, it would seem once again the big winners will be the Russians. Nixon recognized this when on April 10th, he begged the Russians to call off the North Vietnamese attack.

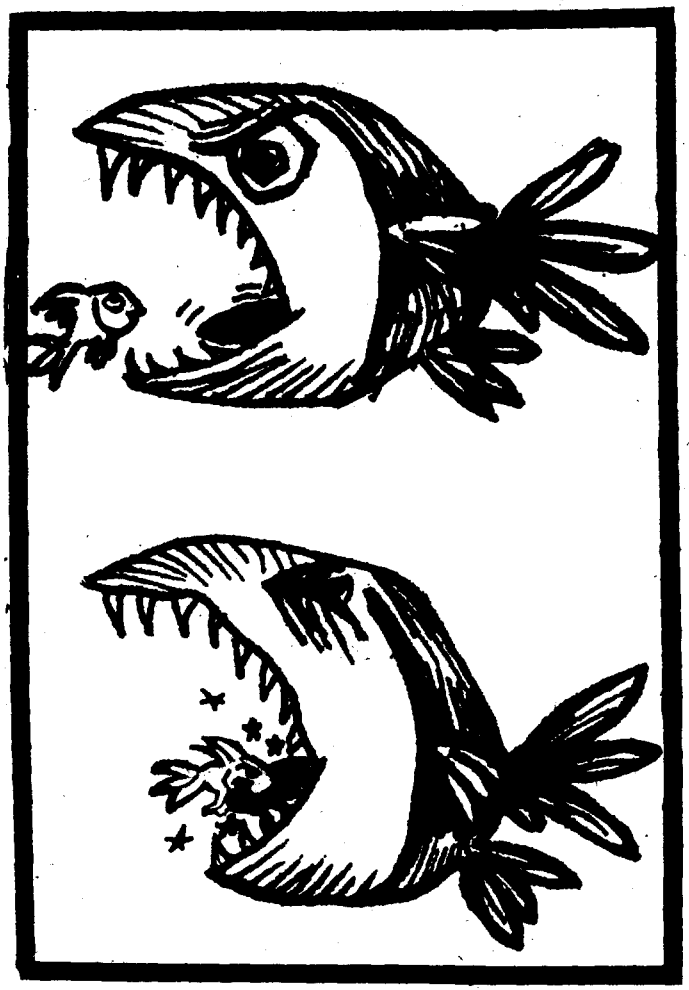
The Russians are by now getting used to this new form of diplomacy by Nixon. "Don't grab so much of my empire at one time fellows; it makes me look bad. Why don't we negotiate a treaty about the moon or Antarctica or outer space or something."

But Russian obstinance in the face of U.S. weakness is what made the Nixon turn-toward-China so important to the U.S. rulers. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the U.S. does not have the power to stop the Soviet advance in Asia or the wherewithal to prevent the collapse of its financial system. The Chinese leaders, who live in deadly fear of a Soviet military attack and a Japanese financial assault seemed like the perfect partner for a desperate U.S. imperialism. Yet mutual fear doesn't make for the most solid alliance in the dog-eat-dog world of capitalist diplomacy.

The truth of the matter is that neither Nixon nor Mao had anything much to offer each other except a pair of Pandas for a pair of musk oxen. Much as the U.S. might deplore a Soviet Nuclear attack on China, they won't do anything to stop it beyond a few U.N. resolutions. And the Chinese aren't in any position to pull the U.S. chestnuts out of the fire in Vietnam. So beyond a big show, that the Russians easily saw through, the China visit was essentially a failure for both sides.

Where is this all leading and what can we expect? In the near future we will most likely see just more of the same—a lot of diplomatic scurrying around to try and mask a steady U.S. decline. In time, however, the mixture will lead to an explosion.

U.S. imperialist profit structure is based on a big empire abroad. The loss of the U.S. spheres of influence abroad is already reacting heavily on the imperialist economy. The captains of industry try to

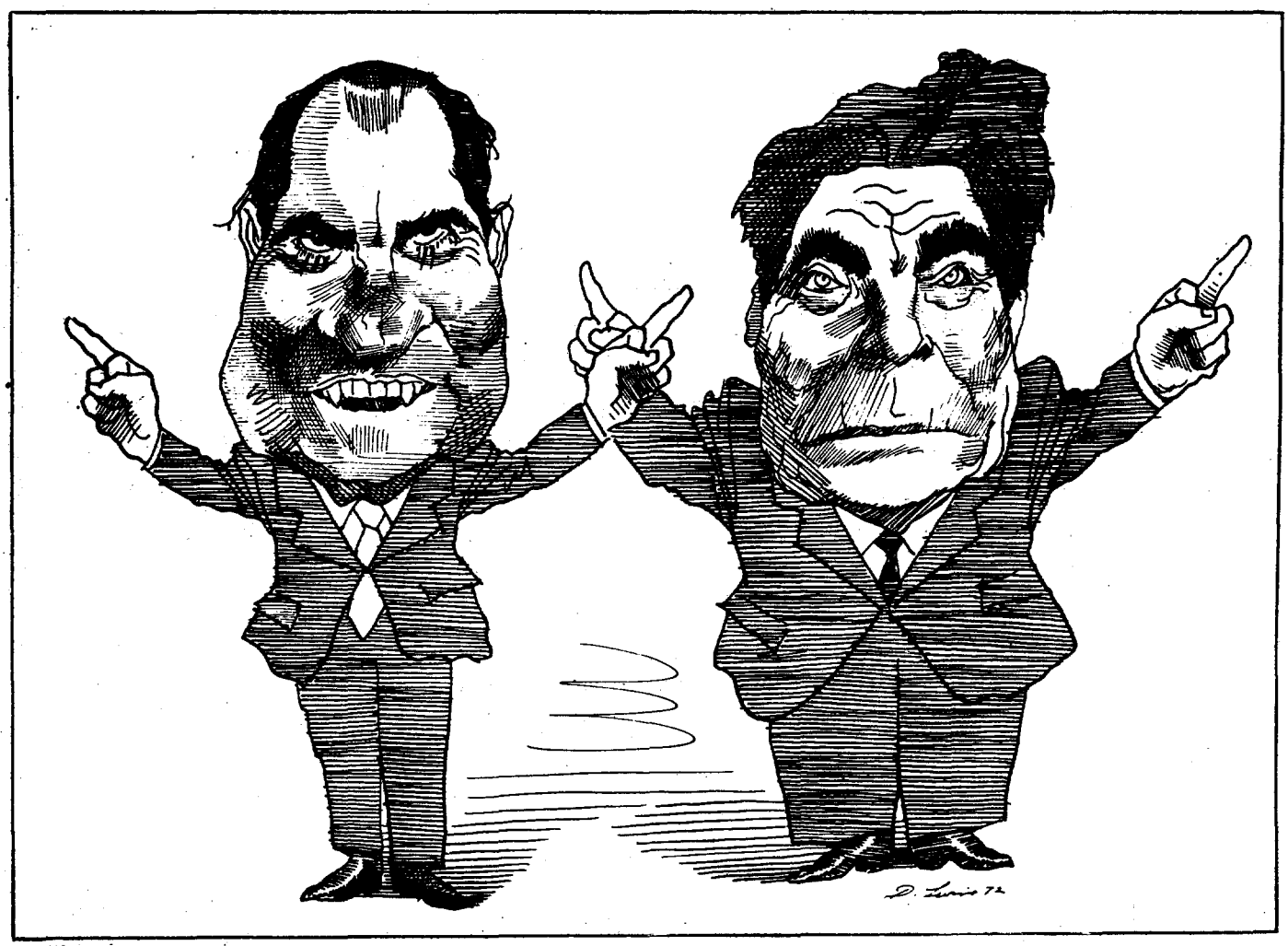


preserve their profit structure despite the losses abroad by cutting into the U.S. workers' standard of living. So they impose a wage freeze—price inflation scheme on the working class at the same time raising workers' taxes and cutting services. But given the fight-back workers are waging against this set-up, it can only be used so far. Eventually the U.S. bosses have to try to call a halt to the erosion of their empire or go under.

On the other hand, the Soviet bosses are weaving their new capitalistic economy around an ever expanding empire. If the Russian empire ceases to expand, it will cause the same type of internal crisis that the U.S. economy is now in. All the trips to Moscow in the world can't disguise the fact that U.S. and Soviet imperialisms are on an eventual collision course.

As for the Japanese and German imperialists, they are accumulating vast amounts of capital, but with no safe place of their "own" to invest it. They could apply for the position of Soviet junior partner and hope to grab a piece of the crumbling American empire, but Soviet junior partners (as the Czecks and East Germans will testify) don't seem to fare too well. As for being American junior partners, well, they tried that for 20 years and got nowhere. Increasingly the German and Japanese ruling classes are being driven to develop their own independent military and diplomatic apparati that can challenge the two superpowers for a division of the spoils. The other powers (Italy, France, Britain and China) will fall in line on one side or the other. A highly combustible mixture is developing in this period, and one day a spark anywhere can set it off. (But for the immediate present all sides seem to be playing it conservatively.)

To stop this conflagration or at least turn the imperialist war into a class war, we need an anti-imperialist movement that can go much further than the old anti-Vietnam war movement. This movement must be internationalist and anti-racist from the outset rather than being nationalist ("Bring **our** boys home") and racist ("We don't want to be involved in an **Asian** war.") as the old movement was. This movement must direct its thrust against the whole imperialist class rather than look for saviours (McGovern, Fulbright or McCarthy) within the ruling class, as the old movement did. This movement must base itself first and foremost on the working class as the only consistently anti-imperialist class in the world today, rather than write off the workers ("the hopelessly patriotic hard hats") as the old movement by and large did. To build this internationalist, anti-imperialist movement revolutionary communist parties like Progressive Labor Party in the U.S. can and must play the decisive role. With such a movement led by revolutionary communists we can defeat the imperialist plans for war and go on to overthrow the rotten imperialist structure all over the world.



The New York Review

June 15. 1972

Why Nixon Won His Moscow Gamble

I. F. Stone

Washington

To speak plainly, the chief running dogs of US imperialism now seem to be Brezhnev and Chou En-lai. This is how it must look from Hanoi. Ignominious as Hitler's appeasers were in the Thirties, he was never dined as an honored guest in Paris, London, or Washington while he bombed Guernica and destroyed the Spanish Republic.

Nixon has won his gamble. He has mined North Vietnam's harbors and stepped up the bombing of Hanoi, Haiphong, and the supply roads leading into China, with no more than toothless protest from either of Hanoi's great allies. The Soviet Union did not call off the summit, or even postpone it, nor did Peking call a halt to its *rapprochement* with Washington.

Quietly but unmistakably Nixon has made the Soviet Union look like "a pitiful helpless giant" on the eve of the Moscow summit, as he did China on the eve of the one in Peking. On the eve of the Peking meeting, the US Air Force, from December 26 to 30, made 1,000 massive strikes against North Vietnam, by far the heaviest since the bombing halt of November, 1968, on the excuse that this was necessary to stop a huge build-up of supplies for an invasion of Cambodia and South Vietnam.[1]

Peking bought its admission to the United Nations, bought its way out of containment, with the blood of the Vietnamese people. The same commodity—in such plentiful supply—has brought Nixon to Moscow. All those bright hopes of expanded US trade and credits which Nixon emissaries have been dangling before the Kremlin since Secretary of Commerce Stans went there last year rest on Nixon's desire to buy some Soviet "restraint" on Hanoi. If it were not for Hanoi, Moscow too would have little to sell.

British Banks Gain in China

Two Lone Foreign Offices Are In Shanghai

By MICHAEL STERN

LONDON — Business is becoming brisker and life easier for the representatives of the only two foreign banks now operating in the People's Republic of China.

"It is like a new era — the Chinese sun is shining on us again," said a London officer of one of the banks as he reflected on the changes that have taken place since the days of the Cultural Revolution, when the Chinese arrested bank officers, harassed their employes and kept business to a minimum.

For the representatives of the Chartered Bank and the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, which have offices in the same building on Yuen Ming Yuen Road, near Shanghai's bund, or waterfront, the change is manifesting itself in several ways:

¶The business of the branches, which is primarily the handling of letters of credit for Chinese exports, is expanding rapidly. It has nearly doubled during the last two years.

¶The first trickles of American trade, set off by President Nixon's state visit and private visits by American businessmen to the Canton Trade Fair last month, are beginning to show up in the branches' books as letters of credit in United States dollars.

¶The branches now are permitted to remit 100 per cent of their profits to their home offices. Previously, they tary of State for Foreign Affairs, completed a visit to China, he reported that the Chinese had expressed "a great desire" for cooperation and exchanges on technical and industrial matters.

Earlier this spring, Lord Eubisham, vice president of the London Chamber of Commerce, led an 18-man delegation on a two-week tour and found a particular Chinese interest in advanced technology imports.

The Chinese have indicated an interest in purchasing Boeing 707's from the United States and the Concorde supersonic airliner being jointly developed by Britain and France. They have also been stepping up their exports of textiles.

The banks are the beneficaries of this heightened interest by China in a larger international trade because they have been designated as channels through which Americans may make direct payments of dollars for Chinese purchases.

Also designated were five correspondent banks of the Bank of China, which have offices in New York or San Francisco. They are Barclays Bank, the National Westminister Bank, Banca Nazionale del Lavoro, Credit Suisse and the National Bank of Pakistan.

Feng Tien Shun, deputy manager of the Bank of China's London office, explained that there had been no direct banking connections between the United States and China since 1950, when the United States Government froze Chinese funds in America.

Both banks with offices in Shanghai have long histories in China. The Chartered Bank, which is incorporated in Britain, has had representatives in China continuously since August, 1858, except for the period of the Japanese occupation following the attack on Pearl Harbor in December, 1941. The Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank incorporated in Hong Kong, opened in Hong Kong in March, 1865, and in Shanghai in April of the same year.

Both banks have branches and affiliates throughout the Far East and the Middle East. They compete keenly and it is rare for one to open an office in a city without the other following quickly.

The Hong Kong and Shanghai's representative in China is Rex Chapman, a former officer of the Mercantile Bank, Ltd., who has served previously in Japan and Ceylon. He has a staff of eight Chinese helping him. The Chartered Bank's man is Cliff Leslie, who heads a staff of eight Chinese clerks and two messengers. Both men arrived in Shanghai only recently, Mr. Chapman at the end of April and Mr. Leslie in March.

The operations they carry on are much like those of bankers everywhere, facilitating the flow of trade. For example, when an American agrees with one of the Chinese export corporations to buy cloth or hides or chemicals he makes a deposit or arranges a credit in dollars with one of the banks and a letter of credit is sent to the Shanghai office spelling out the exact terms of the transaction.

When the Chinese ship the goods, the export corporation presents the shipping documents at the bank and the bank then credits the corporation with the dollars in payment.

The other aspect of the banks' business is transmitting the payment of gifts from overseas Chinese to relatives and dependents in China.

One principal difference between operating in China and in a free economy is that the banks can do little to seek new business. The level of their activity depends on how much trade the Chinese want to do.

"At the moment, business is increasing," said one of the banks' London officers; a man who himself has worked in China. "The Chinese want us there because we are useful to them. We are there because there is an opportunity to do good business. They are very friendly, very helpful now, and we are grateful. We should like the present atmosphere to continue."

had to keep 60 per cent of their profits in China as blocked reserves.

¶There are more profits to remit. As one officer here put it: "It is worthwhile being in Shanghai now. We are no longer living for the future, as we once did."

¶Travel restrictions, which had kept the branch managers of the two banks, both of whom are British subjects, in Shanghai, have been lifted, permitting vists to Peking, Suchow and Hangchow, among other cities.

¶Special marks of favor are being granted to the two branch managers, including such courtesies as hard-to-get tickets to international sporting events and permission to shop in Shanghai's Friendship Store, a special shop for foreigners where a variety of imported and domestic goods are available.

Memories of the past harassment of their operations are still so lively in the minds of the banks' officers here that they are reluctant to talk, on or off the record, about their business on the mainland for fear of offending the Chinese. For example, neither bank would give figures on the size of its business in Shanghai.

Nevertheless, through sources familiar with present conditions in Shanghai, it has been possible to put together a fairly complete picture of what is behind the thaw for the banks.

The explanation begins with the recognition that the Chinese have made a basic decision to look outward in the next phase of their development. Politically, this has taken the form of the warm welcome afforded Mr. Nixon on his recent visit, the raising to ambassadorial level in March of British representation in Peking and the general quickening of diplomatic contacts between China and the West.

Economically, the outward look is shown in the willingness of the Chinese to do more business with foreigners, where once they insisted on a high degree of self-sufficiency. They have been welcoming visitors on private and official levels for trade talks this year.

Last week, for example, when Anthony Royle, the Parliamentary Under Secre-

"At the moment business is increasing. The Chinese want us there because we are useful to them. We are there because it's an opportunity to do good business. They are very friendly, very helpful now, and we are grateful. We should like the present atmosphere to continue."

CHINA LINKS PAY TO PRODUCTIVITY

Drops Wage-Equality Policy to Spur Farm Output

By Tillman Durdin
Special to The New York Times

HONG KONG, May 6 — China appears to be edging away from the egalitarianism that influenced peasant incomes during the fervent, extremist period of the cultural revolution in 1967-69.

In the interest of achieving greater output, the earnings system for individuals on collective farms has been modified so that higher income now goes more consistently to peasants who work harder and produce more and lower remuneration to those who do less.

In a parallel development, wages in the industrial sector have been raised for lower-paid workers of long service, a move also designed to increase satisfaction and improve labor performance in industrial establishments.

Growth This Year Stressed

The revised incomes policy for farms and industries is part of Peking's intensified preoccupation this year with economic growth. Clearly the Government hopes, by rewarding certain sectors of the labor force, to obtain greater outputs and to help achieve its goal of making 1972—the second year of the fourth five-year plan—outstanding for economic gains.

During the heyday of the cultural revolution, enormous sentiment was fostered against the idea of work for material gain. The idea of receiving or even desiring material reward for hard work was repeatedly attacked and a massive amount of propaganda was directed toward encouraging the Maoist spirit of self-sacrifice and the notion that the individual should labor only for the good of society and the state and not for his own benefit.

Working for material gain was denounced as "economism" and attributed to the "revisionist" influences and policies of the purged former chief of state, Liu Shao-chi.

In the industrial sector, bonuses and other form of incentive pay were eliminated. In the rural sector the kind of work done by an individual peasant and his display of Maoist political fervor weighed heavily along with the amount and the output of his labor in points he received.

When the time comes to share out the earinings of collective farms, the amount the individual gets is determined by how many work points he or she has accumulated.

Media Urge the Change

For months provincial radio broadcast and the national and provincial newspapers in China have provided a vast amount of evidence that the rural work-point systems developed during the cultural revolution and exemplified by the practices at Tachai, the model commune in Shansi, has been undergoing a change.

There have been repeated exhortations against egalitarianism and continuous injunctions that work points should be apportioned by the production teams in a way to compensate diligence and productivity.

The new viewpoint was typically expressed in a recent broadcast from Nanning in Kwangsi Province, which said, "we must firmly implement the policy of to each according to his work, from each according to his ability and the policy to equal pay for equal work so that those who work more will get more."

"This is completely different in nature from material incentives and putting work points in command," the broadcast argued. "While we have to strengthen political-ideological education members' awareness education and raise the commune members' awareness of farming for the revolution, we must also give them rational remuneration in accordance with the quality and amount of their labor and oppose manifestations of equal remuneration for everyone."

The propaganda often brings out the point that farm tasks such as manure collection and odd jobs that peasants were formerly expected to do mainly out of concern for the communal good and with little or no award of work points should now receive adequate work points.

Another constant theme is that close attention should be paid to awarding proper work points to women for the tasks they perform. By their stress on this point, provincial commentaries indicate that heretofore women have been given fewer work points than men even when doing the same kind of work and possibly achieving the same productivity.

Political View Counts Less

The propaganda consistently stresses that the changes that are being put into effect must not be taken as returning to the "work points-in-command" situation of Liu Shoa-chi's time, but it is nevertheless clear that the revisions in the rural income system do, to a considerable degree, provide an incentive, in the form of a better income, for hard work.

And it is also clear that political attitude now counts for less in gaining work points than formerly.

Six refugees arriving here from China and firsthand information from visitors to China confirm the changes in the rural-income system reflected in the propaganda media.

China restores material incentives to workers

From Our Correspondent
Hongkong, June 25

Peking is quietly but systematically restoring material incentives to peasants and workers to increase production.

This new trend is one of the most significant developments in the campaign of reorganization and consolidation throughout China, initiated after the Cultural Revolution.

The *People's Daily* hails the new policy of "more work more pay" while insisting that "exploitation will not be tolerated". The party definition of the restored material incentives is: "Rational rewards in accordance with the quantity and quality of labour performed."

The rewards are not confined to agricultural workers or reflected only in higher work-points for increased output. Workers at the Canton electrical engineering plant have recently received a wage increase of up to 10 yuan a month (roughly £1.50) back dated from July, 1971.

Ironically, the disgraced Mr Liu Shao-chi, who during the Cultural Revolution of 1966-68 was denounced for introducing material incentives, called them "a capitalist trick", is now being denounced for having done exactly the opposite: "Whipping up a black wind to abolish rational rewards."

Another article in the *People's Daily* advocates equal pay for equal work by women. It reports that women farm workers in Shantung province had rightly complained: "Who would like to sweat more in work when, under the system of equal work but unequal pay, we get only 75 per cent of what men get, even if we removed the Tai mountain?"

LETTER FROM ISRAEL REVEALS:

Class Struggle Hits Zionist Bosses

(The following is a letter received from a friend involved in the class struggle in Israel):

Dear J.,

Thank you very much for your letter. . . .Regarding "Siach"—this is a group of liberal Zionists that base their outlook on what they call "Humanist Socialism," some type of Marcuse's philosophy (he was their guest not too long ago, and a guest of the Israeli government). They support the Nov. 22, 1967 Middle East United Nations Resolution, and all their political line stands on the issue, "The existence of the State of Israel as a Jewish state." Their hypocracy was exposed many times when they face the possibility of Socialism or Zionism—they always go for Zionism.

We view Zionism as a colonialist movement that founded the State of Israel on the land of expelled Palestinism Arabs, while they view it as the National Liberation Movement of the Jewish People which they claim has reactionary trends in it as well as progressive trends (they are the "progressive" part). We view Zionism as a natural ally and bastion of U.S. imperialism while they (Siach) claim the state of Israel could exist as a "neutral" state—non-aligned. We see Zionism as promoting anti-Semitism while they see it as a solution to the so-called Jewish question.

Their existence is nothing new ideologically. Lenin had to struggle against this trend among Jewish workers. At that time they were called "Poale-Zion" and their chief theoritician was Ber Borochov. They wanted to join the Communist International in the 1920's but were rejected since they refused to drop their colonizing program of Palestine. The struggle against this is important mainly overseas where they try to pose as an opposition to the Israeli gov-

After zionist troops tried to break up May Day action, outraged students took over Hebrew University in protest

ernment or as a radical "Jewish" group within the Jewish community and influence young Jews, preventing them from joining radical politics in the country where they live. In New York they operate under the name of "Jewish Liberation Project."

The Vanguard group negates totally the contradiction between Zionism and Palestinian workers and peasants that were expelled from Palestine. They see Israel as a developed capitalist country like France, etc. and are very dogmatic Trotskyites. They claim nothing has happened in the world since the October revolution.

Matzpen—it has split two months ago into two groups: the first is a group of members and friends of the Fourth International in the U.S., the revisionist Socialist Workers Party. The second group is mixed, containing anarchists, liberals and a few Marxists who remain there because numerically they are very few. Mind you, all these groups do not contain more than 40 people each, at most, so quantitatively they can be surpassed almost any minute.

The "Revolutionary Communist Alliance" turned out to be revisionist of a new type. They refuse to struggle against the "Communist" Party, refuse to struggle for communist ideas among workers, saying the time is not ripe and that the "dumb" workers have to be approached step by step. They concentrate around reformism. They do not sign their leaflets with the name "communist" on it. Every compromise is explained as "tactics," saying it is done with complete consciousness, and thus it is better than those who do it without.

How can you help? Well, currently we are struggling to get out of jail. A draft resister who is not a pacifist—Giora Noyman—an 18-year-old Israeli and immigrant from Poland, refused to serve in the Israeli army on political grounds. He claims the Israeli army is a colonialist army whose duty is to expel Palestinian Arabs from their land, annex their territory to Israel and build a colonialist Jewish settlement on it. He also claims that the army and the police are strike-breakers and help enforce the anti-working class laws. He has refused to wear the uniform and to take the vow and so he has been sentenced five times for 35 days each time, during which many high-ranking officers tried to lecture him why Israel is right and the Arabs wrong, etc., but he has not broken down.

Although a "C." P. lawyer has negotiated for him and offered a "replacement" to serve for him, he has turned down all compromises. When the army realized he cannot be broken, they decided to bring him before a military court and he is facing four years in jail. Although his act is not our line, we are determined to defend him and demand his immediate release. You can help him and us if you raise the issue in New York (demonstrations opposite the Israeli consulate, UN Mission, etc.)

ON JUNE 5th IT WILL BE FIVE years to the June '67 war. We are having a demonstration against the occupation, demanding total withdrawal now—no negotiations. You can do something like you did opposite the Pakistani mission. The Israeli ruling class is very sensitive about its image abroad. It has been ruined in Europe by European leftists and Marxists who helped break the pro-Zionist feelings among Jewish youth (very dear to the Zionists). This all serves a double purpose: it helps bring Jewish students to communist ideas and it weakens the ideological grip Zionism has among Jewish students and workers abroad.

In Israel there used to be a tradition of May Day celebrations, which was broken by the wave of nationalism forced upon Jewish workers by the Zionist ruling class during and after the Six-day war. This May Day, however, a few demonstrations were held. The "C." P. had its annual parade, marching with Israeli flags (they view the 1948 war of aggression against Palestinian Arabs as an anti-imperialist war against the British because in 1947 the Soviet Union's revisionist leadership had supported the Zionist leadership to get the British out. Consequently it was a war to drive more Palestinian Arabs out of Palestine).

The British were replaced by the U.S. imperialists in the city of Haifa. Each had a demonstration in the bourgeois section of Tel Aviv, marching with slogans supporting Soviet Jewry (on May Day!!) and for the "law of return"—the racist law which automatically grants every Jew an Israeli citizenship while refusing the Arab refugees the return to their homes.

The biggest demonstration was held without a police permit in downtown Jerusalem. It was called by the Israeli Black Panthers and was joined by all the anti-Zionist forces. About 1500 attended, carrying only red flags and anti-government signs against the recent anti-working class laws. The police had instructions to break this demonstration at any price. About 1000 police and at least 200 plainclothesmen were ordered in with their sticks and colored water sprayed with high pressure. They went wild but the crowd fought them for about two hours, blocking the traffic throughout the city for nearly three hours. Eighty people were arrested (I was, too) and charged with "unlawful assembly" and "wild behavior." The police had orders to arrest everyone carrying red flags, so out of the 80 arrested, 60 were communists (or rather Marxists of all sorts and a few Panthers).

We were held for 24 hours and then released on bail. Those of us that were hit by the police were charged with "attacking an officer" (their "logic" says: why else were they hurt?), and kept in jail for another week. As a result, liberal students who had nothing to do with the demonstration took over the administration buildings at the Hebrew University, demanding the release of all political prisoners, firing the police chief and the right to free demonstrations. They held the building for two days and held a demonstration the next week in which 2,500 showed up. They called themselves the "May 2nd Movement."

What really killed this upsurge was the plane highjacking in the Lydda Airport where the government used it to fan once again "the whole mighty power of the Israeli Army" and this occupied the minds of people for a few days, thus slowing down and inevitably ending any type of struggle.

Well, I have written enough here. Maybe you can sum up some of it for coverage in CHALLENGE-DESAFIO. The May Day story and the draft resister are quite important for us here to get out. I hope I did not write too much.

—N.D.

Quebec Workers' Answer to Bosses, Sellouts, And Nationalists: General Strike!

The Quebec General Strike—which resulted in a complete shut-down of government services across the province for 10 days, and two weeks later saw workers seize control of at least a dozen towns—left no doubt about the immense power of the working class, or about its growing militancy in the face of ruling class attacks.

Workers in Quebec—long an area of high unemployment, low wages and racism against a French-speaking majority—have taken the lead in class struggle in North America. In the process, they have terrified the ruling class by dumping its racist-nationalist theories of "Quebec exclusiveness" into the trash pile. In a few weeks of sharp, complex struggle, Quebec workers found themselves fighting one of the biggest battles yet waged in the class war developing all across the continent. As French- and English-speaking workers fought side-by-side with immigrants of many nationalities, nationalism (and its spokesmen) were left high and dry. One of the main lessons of the strike is that there is **no such thing** as a Quebec "national" working class. As in the rest of Canada and the USA, workers have **no** national interests to defend—only their international class interests.

The biggest strike in Canadian labor history began to take shape on March 9, when almost 200,000 government employees —including civil servants, hospital workers, teachers, school maintenance workers, Hydro employees, Liquor Board workers and others—voted by a 75% majority to authorize the Common Front of government service unions to take strike action if contract settlements could not be negotiated.

Faced with an outright refusal to negotiate on the part of provincial premier Robert Bourassa's government, the Common Front called a one-day, province-wide walk-out on March 24. This action, and the two extended general strikes, were undermined by the Common Front bureaucrats. But for rank-and-file workers, it was a different story: the strike was a fight for higher wages, shorter hours and job security, as well as for a contract after a year of fruitless government-union blabbing. Workers thus were up against the provincial government, in addition to having an uphill fight to make the Common Front serve their interests, and not the ambitions of the union misleaders.

After two weeks of jockeying for position around the "central negotiating table" (one of the union bureaucrats' favorite demands, even though the ruling class had conceded the point as long ago as 1969), the first province-wide shutdown broke out on April 11. Picket lines were set up at almost every government institution. Where several local unions had chosen not to ally with the Common Front, flying squads of strikers appeared to make sure **everything** stayed shut. Hospitals were first to feel the pinch, as workers saw to it that the shut-down was 100% effective in some places.

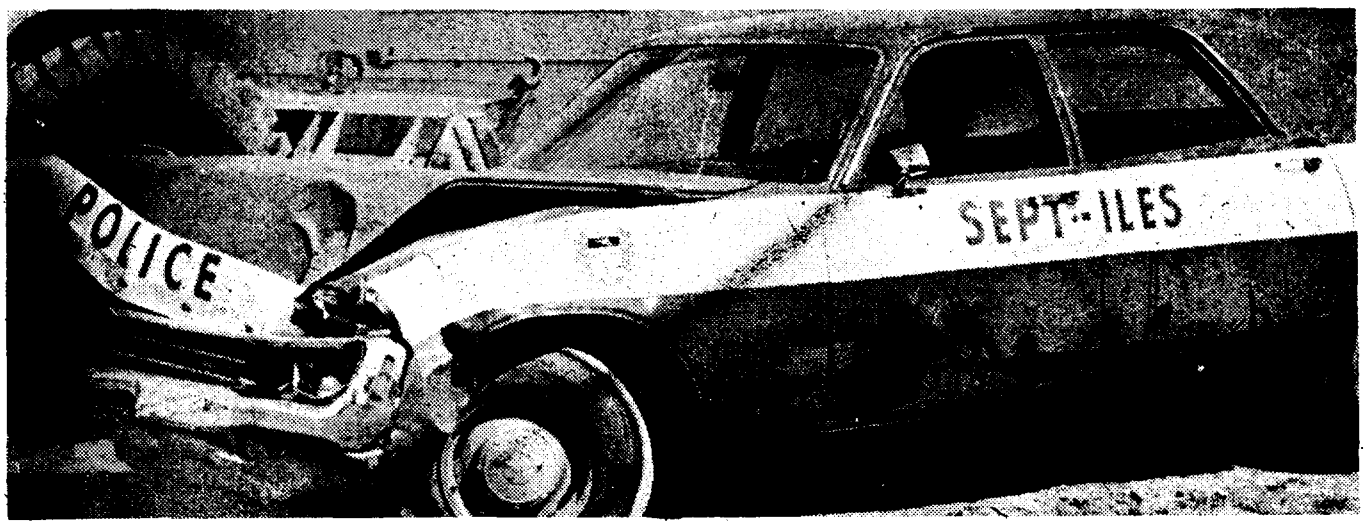
In a panic, Bourassa phoned his buddies in the "independent judiciary". In short order he obtained injunctions forbidding picketing at Quebec Hydro, where the strike could have meant loss of electrical power and complete tie-up of Quebec industry. Workers disregarded the injunctions and—with the exception of Quebec Hydro where the CUPE (Canadian Union of Public Employees) executive called for a return to work—forced the unions to issue instructions to ignore them as well. Local and provincial riot cops worked overtime trying to escort scabs, volunteers and "visitors" through militant picket lines. In many cases, particularly at hospitals in Montreal, Hull and Drummondville, no one crossed until union leaders gave the word to let the scabs pass. But even local setbacks couldn't break the back of the strike.

As the strike entered its second week, 20 local union officers were arrested and quickly tried and sentenced for "contempt of court," for advising union members to flaunt injunctions. At the same time, to the tune of a mounting clamor from the bosses' press for an end to the strike, the government brought in its special back-to-work legislation—Bill 19—which bans all strikes in the public service until 1974.

But it wasn't the riot cops, strike-breakers, "volunteers," injunctions with their jail terms and $5,000 fines, and not Bill 19, that ended the strike. What finally got Bourassa off the hook was the last-minute collapse of the Common Front Big Three—Marcel Pepin of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU), Louis Laberge of the Quebec Federation of Labor (affiliated to the CLC and the AFL-CIO), and Yvon Charbonneau of the Quebec Teachers' Corporation. Even though tens of thousands of workers voted to defy Bill 19 and stay out, and backed up their vote by a massive turnout on the picket lines, these fakers caved in and issued a call to return to work.

Bill 19 set the stage for Round Two. At the same time, the Common Front trio was arrested and sentenced to one year in jail on the same charges. Wildcat walkouts hit every corner of Quebec, throwing the bosses into a frenzy. Several towns with high proportions of union members came to a complete standstill as workers took over and ran the show.

Common Front bigwigs claimed the walkouts were in protest against the jailing of Laberge, Pepin and Charbonneau, but workers knew better. The real issues of the second General Strike were Bill 19, and local grievances. The unions' "hero strategy" began to backfire as significant groups of workers, like Montreal transport employees, voted against joining the strike, wanting nothing to do with the fake-martyr Big Three. Following a cabinet shuffle which brought an "impartial" minister into the negotiations, the Common Front called off the strike, the troika was set free on bail pending an



appeal, and talks resumed.

The real story of the Quebec strike is not the string of deals by the Common Front leadership, but rather the fighting spirit and tenacity of the rank-and-file in its efforts to wring better wages and working conditions out of its boss, the Bourassa government.

There are some 250,000 government service employees in Quebec—more than 12% of the workforce—making the government the largest single boss in the province. Of these, some 100,000 are CNTU members, another 30,000 belong to the QFL, while 70,000 teachers are members of the Quebec Teachers' Corporation. The remaining 50,000 are not union members. Sixty per cent of government employees are women, 36,000 of whom earn well under the $100 a week demanded by the Common Front.

From the working class' point of view, the government employees' Common Front was necessary to beat the bosses' divide-and-rule tactics, particularly the proliferation of competing unions in the public service. Following a series of important strikes in the government service which resulted either in setbacks for workers (two losing strikes in an 8-year period at the Quebec Liquor Board saw an **increase** in hours worked and a **drop** in wages), or a stand-off with the government, workers began to grasp the need for broader, more militant organization; the kind of organization that would smash divisions and fight for rank-and-file demands. It was in response to this pressure that the Common Front of the three main labor bodies in the public service was established.

While the Common Front was set up in response to rank-and-file pressure, its program was only a feeble reflection of government workers' real needs. A long standing demand for the 32-1/2 hour work week (already gained by some government workers) was dropped early. The other main demand—the $100 weekly minimum—was watered down until the Common Front chiefs agreed that the $100 figure represented a target to be reached at the end of the contract, and not retroactive to June 1971 (the end of the previous contract) as demanded by workers.

Several Common Front demands confirmed long-standing ruling-class strategy. In a speech to the Montreal Junior Chamber of Commerce in 1969, the then-minister for the Public Service, Marcel Masse, specified that the concept of "equal pay for equal work" both in regard to regional disparities and as between the sexes, would have to be applied in the next government service negotiations. Masse, a pro-separatist "independent" went on to say that "the government forsees in the future, upon the renewal of public service contracts in 1971, the creation of a new structure of negotiation." In his speech, Masse was laying out the rules by which the ruling class intended to play the negotiations game with the union leadership. What Masse didn't take into account was that rank-and-file action, and anger, would rip matters out of the control of the bureaucrats, and put his well-laid plans in jeopardy.

Thus, while the Common Front leadership covered up their sellout of essential rank-and-file demands beneath a blast of hot air about a "central negotiating table," workers became more and more impatient at seeing their real demands for a shorter work week and $100 weekly minimum frittered away. This was the militant spirit underlying the March 9 strike-vote, and mass picket lines all across the province. Laberge, Pepin and Charbonneau told workers to ignore injunctions—after thousands of angry rank-and-filers had already done just that!

The Bourassa government based its stand on the old fable that "the government would go broke" if it had to meet workers' demands. Bourassa and Co. did stand to lose—but that wasn't the reason. Where great numbers of workers in the direct or indirect employ of the government are involved, the state apparatus is forced to shed its mantle of "neutrality" and show itself as another boss, but a boss with the direct power to pass strike-busting laws, bring down injunctions, mobilize thousands of police, and finally, impose a settlement through its legislative apparatus. What's more, the ruling class, particularly in Quebec, could ill afford the precedent of a winning strike involving more than 200,000 workers in direct conflict with the government.

The other real danger for the bosses, aside from the effects a winning strike would have had in private industry, would have been increased pressure from the imperialist banking groups that hold the Quebec government ransom for hundreds of billions of dollars in interest owing on loans and bond issues.

The union leaders countered Bourassa's hard-line position with vague rumblings about bringing down the government, and even with talk about "peoples' power." What they'd been hawking as "democratic socialism" during the strike came out smelling of the Parti Quebecois. And all the while, PQ leader Rene Levesque lurked offstage, offering an equal measure of sympathy to the strikers—and to the government.

Just as in the case of union bureaucrat support for rank-and-file demands, so the Big Three's espousal of "socialism" represented an effort to ride the tide of working-class anger. As the capitalists attack, the union bureaucrats are caught in the squeeze. Faced with falling rates of profit, the bosses are more willing than ever to turn on them if necessary, which—as we saw in Quebec—forces the bureaucrats into positions of extreme militancy, because only such militancy will allow them to control the most active members of their unions. But the tight-rope act had to end, and end it did, with the Big Three lining up with Bourassa and calling on workers to go back on the job just as tens of thousands were ready to defy Bill 19 (as they'd defied dozens of injunctions before it).

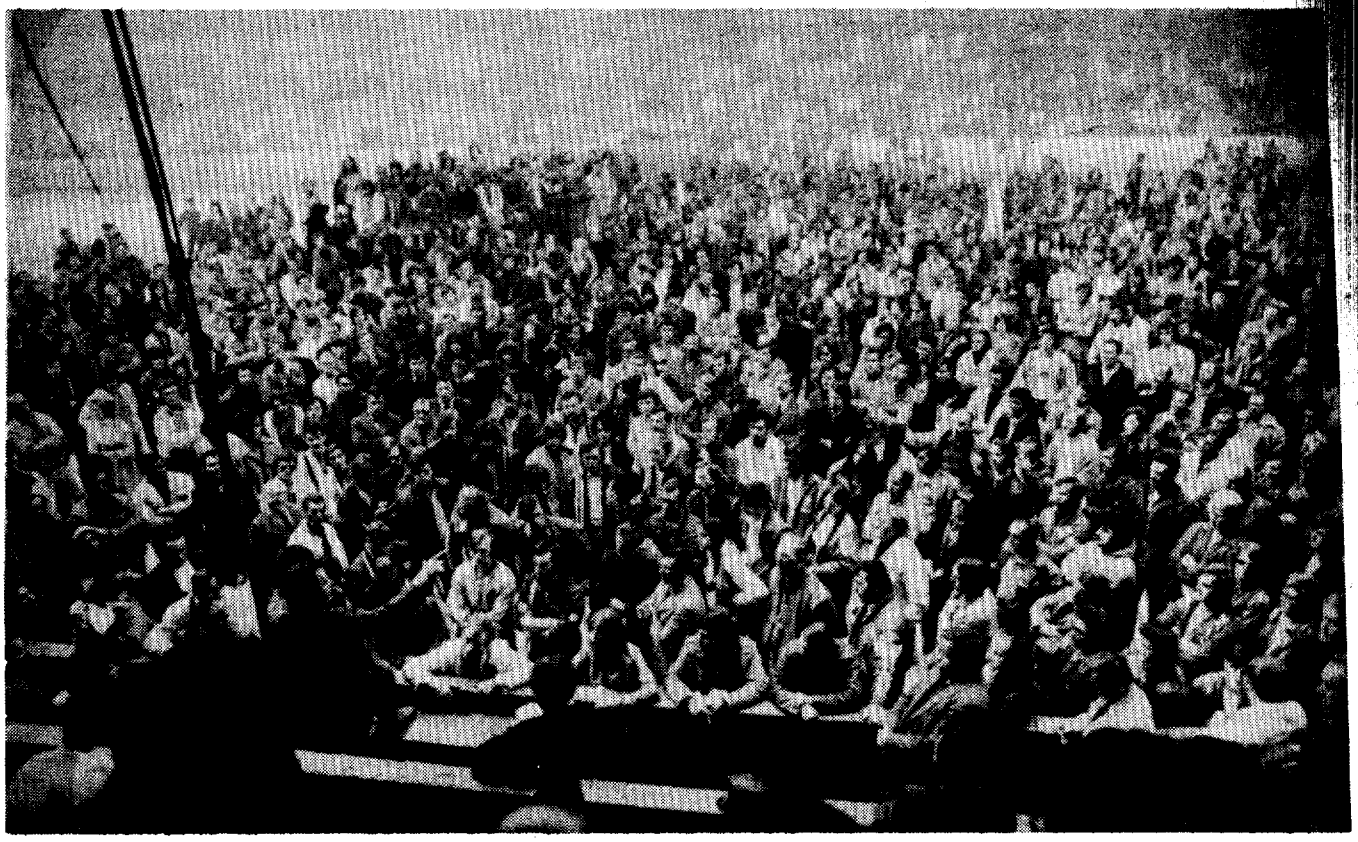
Behind the union leaders' fake-radical politics—and their quick collapse in the face of Bill 19—is their nationalist outlook. Both the CNTU and the QFL have recently published manifestos in which they call for the "Quebec road" to socialism. According to a CNTU analysis* the Quebec people must gain control, by stages, of certain strategic sectors of the economy: forests, for instance. This would lead to nationalization ("Quebecization"?) of most industry, and supposedly take control from those foreigners presently in charge. Though the analysis talks about workers kicking out imperial-

ists, it says not a word about the home-grown would-be bosses of Quebec whose political force is the Parti Quebecois. Nor does it take up the question of the ruling force of the Canadian bourgeoisie: the Canadian Federal state.

Even though class oppression is sharper in Quebec than in many other areas of Canada (though by no means all) due to the province's history as a preserve for low wages and high unemployment, Trudeau's Federal State is the main agent of the ruling class in Canada, and as such is the oppressor and enemy of **all** workers, from British Columbia to Newfoundland, and including Quebec. No socialist revolution has a chance in Canada until this state apparatus is crushed. Laberge, Pepin and Charbonneau, like the entire galaxy of national socialist politicians of the Quebec "left," appear to believe that the world ends at the Quebec border. On the other hand, support from workers in the rest of Canada would have helped government workers in Quebec beat Bourassa and **win** their demands. The nationalist ravings of the union hacks serve only to provoke anti-Quebec reaction in English Canada—and workers unity across national boundaries suffers.

Attempts by the Common Front leaders and their allies to explain the non-existent "Quebec state" (as a distinct state apparatus and not an appendage of the Canadian Federal State) are based on a faulty understanding of the capitalist system itself. After citing such items as grants to industry and tax-incentive plans, support projects such as roads and electric power facilities, research and development by government agencies, concessions to great companies, inflated contracts and pork-barrel legislation, as ways in which the Quebec state collaborates with the ruling class, the "left nationalists" make no mention of one of the bedrocks of the imperialist economic order (and major consumer of "public" funds–workers' taxes and super-profits made off the sweat of government workers): interest on debts and loans negotiated by the big imperialist banking and financial combines.

Contrary to what the nationalist bureaucrats tell us, there has been nothing unique about the history of class struggle in Quebec. Hard-fought, bitter strikes; oppression by bosses' governments, cops and army; sellouts engineered by labor fakers; **all** the characteristics of working peoples' battles world-wide. The relatively late arrival of capitalist production to the province on a broad scale has only had the effect of compressing the growth of class consciousness into a relatively shorter time-span, and making class fights all the sharper.



• Strikes at Asbestos and Murdochville in the 40's and 50's, which were part of the continent-wide campaign to drive communists from the labor movement, saw the present-day Quebec union leadership emerge to prominence as red-baiters and class collaborators. Pierre Trudeau, author of the War Measures Act during the 1970 FLQ crisis, marched in demonstrations in Murdochville, as did Montreal mayor Jean Drapeau, and the organizer of his anti-communist electoral campaign, Michel Chartrand, against red candidate Fred Rose.

• A protracted battle in 1969-1970 saw the same Trudeau crush the LaPalme postal drivers' union, in collaboration with rival union bureaucrats.

• Workers at **LaPresse**, Quebec's largest newspaper ("Biggest French scab in North America") fought craft divisions and a lock-out by Power Corporation to a standstill in a 6-month fight for job security, marked by a huge demonstration where Common Front hero Laberge scurried behind police barricades as riot cops killed one worker and injured hundreds more.

Nationalists have repeatedly tried to rally Quebec workers behind their slogans of "Quebec first." Workers have continued to act in accordance with their class interests. Strenuous efforts on the part of the racist leaders of the labor movement in the rest of Canada, coupled with the nationalist maneuvering by Quebec's bureaucrats, have held back solid working-class unity all across Canada. But the General Strike in Quebec laid new foundations for the development of this unity.

Hospitals were the storm center of the strike. Wages and working conditions in hospitals have always been rotten, especially in Quebec. Most hospital workers earn well under the $100 per week demanded by the Common Front. Women and immigrant workers, the vast majority of hospital employees, are especially oppressed: last hired, first fired, subject to racist or chauvinist discrimination in job placement. It was for all these reasons that the sharpest battles of the strike took place on hospital picket lines.

Often, after the failure of the union leaders to organize the strike, workers took matters into their own hands. Such was the case at Montreal's Jewish General Hospital, where angry, the rank-and-file finally called their own "illegal" union meeting, rolled right over their corrupt do-nothing local union boss, and set up their own strike committee. One of their first actions was a mass march to nearby Ste-Justine hospital, chanting "Workers, yes! scabs, no! all the bosses have got to go!" The march was a display of solidarity in return for support given by Ste-Justine workers earlier during the strike.

Elsewhere, at Charles le Moyne, St-Jean-de-Dieu, Pasteur, Jean Talon and Villa Medica hospitals, workers openly defied Bourassa's injunctions, and mounted mass picket lines. Hordes of cops had to be brought in to escort busloads of "volunteers" through the lines. The arrest and imprisonment of dozens of local union officials, who face six-month jail sentences and $5000 fines, couldn't stop angry workers.

School Board workers (above all, those employed by the Montreal Catholic School Commission) had an important part in the strike. Since most schools

were closed, groups of active workers lent their services to other, weaker picket lines. Efforts by the school bosses to keep schools running were beaten back by mass demonstrations of teachers and workers, and even police intervention could not get doors open again.

A reflection of rank-and-file commitment to the strike was the spontaneous formation of committees and caucuses in many institutions. Union plans called for a Common Front in name only, made up of fragile alliances among the big shots. Workers wanted to build the Common Front from the bottom up. It took every ounce of coercion and persuasion the union hacks could muster to deter spontaneous, wide-spread support by one group of strikers for another. On several occasions, groups of strikers called to weaker picket lines were forced to look on in frustration as local strike directors waved scabs through. Other times, groups of angry workers were sent off on wild goose chases. But nothing could stand in the way of workers—men and women, French and English and immigrant—**uniting** when and wherever they could to strengthen their ranks against the government.

One of the most positive developments in the strike was the emergence of the still young Workers' Action Movement (WAM) as the only force actively propagating and organizing for class solidarity. WAM members took the initiative in organizing support for small picket lines, and fought hard against union capitulation. WAM published two strike bulletins dealing with a dozen hospitals and government institutions in the Montreal area, and brought out informational leaflets calling on workers to keep up the fight for the essential demands of the shorter work week and the $100 minimum wage. WAM members, along with the Canadian Party of Labor, worked actively to bring internationalism into the Quebec strike, as they argued for solidarity with New York State government employees who had staged a one-day walkout, and with municipal workers in Toronto and Vancouver. This growing solidarity was best expressed in the May Day demonstration organized in Toronto by CPL, WAM and SDS, where hundreds of workers and students chanted: "Unite! Fight! Support the Quebec strike!"

The climax to the first round came on the night of Friday, April 21. The previous day, Bourassa had brought in Bill 19, his special back-to-work legislation. With only token opposition from the Parti Quebecois (which had earlier called on the strikers to return to work and proposed that negotiations be continued in front of a parliamentary commission—both later included in Bill 19!) the Bill was voted into law, erasing any possible doubts about the government as a "neutral arbiter" or representative of the people. Passage of the Bill was accompanied by a torrent of sob stories and pro-scab publicity. Scabs were painted as "protectors of the public health and welfare," and strikers as "public enemies." But the hot-air barrage missed its mark because government workers, along with their families and friends, make up at least one quarter of the Quebec work force!

Bill 19's provisions include an immediate return to work and an end to all public service strikes until 1974, and gave the government power to fix hours and working conditions by decree. Throughout that day, emergency local meetings were held all across the province. A strong majority of strikers polled, voted to defy Bill 19 and continue the strike. Before midnight, the largest picket lines of the 10-day old conflict began to gather in front of almost every hospital in Montreal. Thousands of workers were ready to stand and fight for their demands, and to dump Bill 19 into the garbage where it belonged.

At 11 p.m. the Common Front trio emerged from a strategy session to tell the strikers to give up, and go back to work, claiming that workers "weren't strong enough" and that the exhausted, over-extended riot squad would somehow be everywhere at once to force 200,000 rebellious workers to work. These whining arguments were shouted down on the picket lines. At one hospital after another, angry strikers burned their union cards and ripped Common Front banners to shreds. Many workers wept with rage and frustration, and small groups of riot cops watched with relief. The strike was over, shot down by the Common Front troika just in time to get Bourassa out of a serious political crisis.

While the arrest and jailing of the Big Three was the pretext for the second General Strike, the real issues were the same as in the first round (which had solved nothing). Workers in the public service, and in private industry, were up in arms against Bill 19, correctly seeing it as anti-union legislation that set a precedent for crushing other strikes. But once again the Common Front leaders turned their backs on the struggle. Laberge, Pepin and Charbonneau, as scared as Bourassa by rising worker militancy, retired to prison with an ostentatious refusal to demand bail or appeal. This gave them the chance they needed to hide the sellout of April 21 by playing the hero—as well as helping Bourassa keep them, and not mass rank-and-file actions, in the headlines.

Another element in Round Two was the question of local grievances. Construction workers, saddled with two special Bills regulating the construction industry; longshoremen in three St. Lawrence ports, stuck with job-cutting work-gang reorganization; and Montreal city workers, up against threats to job security—all rebelled and walked out.

Within two days the strike had spread to every corner of the province. The towns of Sept-Iles, Hautrive, Thetford Mines, St-Jerome, Sorel, Ste-Hyacinthe, Joliette, Murdochville, Levis and Baie Comeau were completely shut down by strikers. Walkouts occurred in many factories in Montreal, Quebec City, Sherbrooke and the Lac St-Jean region. Groups of workers took over radio stations and broadcast strike news; newspapers were forced to close, and walkouts hit Montreal's central post office. Workers from **La Presse** already the scene of a bitter strike/lock-out, made the rounds of all Montreal newspapers, calling on their workers to walk out. Friday, May 12, found Montreal, a city of two million, without a single daily newspaper. Workers at Notre Dame hospital in the city staged repeated wildcat walkouts, and students and teachers forced dozens of schools to close.

The mining town of Sept-Iles, on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, was the most solid. There, workers exerted almost total control over the town,

throwing Bourassa and the Common Front leaders into a panic. The strike was 100% effective, and squads of strikers saw to it that small businesses and offices also closed their doors. Strikers' committees decided what would function, where, and when. Worker pressure forced the town council to telegraph the government demanding the repeal of Bill 19. All access to the town was cut off as roads were blocked, and armed workers fired on aircraft trying to land. During a mass demonstration, a car driven by a drunken ex-liberal organizer rammed the crowd at full speed, killing one worker and badly injuring 22 others. The scab killer was saved from death at the hands of the enraged crowd only by armed cops who pulled him to safety. Local police stayed held up in the town courthouse until a 200-man squad of provincial riot cops were flown in by Canadian military aircraft.

Across the province workers hit the bricks in solidarity with their brothers and sisters in Sept-Iles. The Sept-Iles walkout was a particular shock to the government and the Common Front because the town had been the scene, several months earlier, of bloody interunion skirmishes fomented by rivalry between CNTU and QFL bureaucrats. It was the battle of Sept-Iles which gave the government the chance to bring in special legislation to regulate the construction industry, legislation which became the basis for the harsh contempt sentences handed down during the General Strike. But, as everywhere else in Quebec, workers in Sept-Iles demolished the barriers of union affiliation which had turned them against each other, and united to bring the fight right to the bosses' door.

Several factors combined to bring Round Two to an end:

- Two "dove" ministers in the Bourassa cabinet provoked a phony crisis by tendering their "resignation" during the strike in protest against supposed anti-Quebec legislation enacted by the Trudeau government. This effort to divert public attention away from the strike flopped. But when Jean Cournoyer, a close friend of the union big shots, was named to take over the public service portfolio, the Big Three promptly decided to call off the strike and do business.
- Many workers, while ready to support their Common Front brothers and sisters in the fight against Bill 19, were not enthusiastic about striking in support of Laberge-Pepin-Charbonneau. Feelings were strong about walking out only to have the rug pulled out from under, as had happened so many

times in the past. The union bosses' quickness to swallow Cournoyer's compromise bait confirmed their fears. On the other hand, where workers were fighting hard over outstanding grievances, especially longshoremen and Montreal city workers, the strike held firm.

- Bosses and cops, not the Common Front, were able to mobilize large groups of workers in back-to-work movements. This was especially acute in Montreal, where 3,000 "anti-strike" construction men got police protection (while other workers' demonstrations had been met and crushed by the riot squad) and boss money to stage a pro-government rally. The Common Front failed to counter these provocations with larger, more militant rallies and marches. In too many cases, the strike looked like one big picnic. Picket lines folded, leadership disappeared. In this atmosphere, the decision of the Big Three to drop their martyr role came out as pure cynicism.
- Reactionary elements within the CNTU, in the name of "rank-and-file democracy," succeeded in organizing a split within the confederation. Seizing on the legitimate disgust of many members for the sellout tactics of Pepin and his loud-mouther Montreal lieutenant Michel Chartrand, coupled with their political exhibitionism, three members of the CNTU executive announced their decision to quit and set up a new labor federation, devoted to bread-and-butter business unionism.

The Quebec general strikes, though falling short of their goals, have pushed class struggle in Canada far ahead, and put workers in Quebec in the forefront of the growing onslaught on imperialism's empire. Far from being the sort of "national liberation struggle" designed to bring one group of national bosses or another into power, the General Strikes were working-class upheavals. (In the context of today's Quebec, "national liberation" would mean electoral victory for the Parti Quebecois, itself closely linked with the Rockefeller financial group.)* At issue was not which bourgeois clique must rule Quebec as a necessary "first stage" to socialism, as advocated by the fake-radical union leftists and their apologists, but the need to end the oppression suffered by workers in the Quebec government service.

Instead of dividing workers along national lines, the strike united the great majority of French-speaking Quebec workers with English Canadians, and with immigrants from Italy, Greece, Portugal, Spain, Yugoslavia, the West Indies, Haiti, the USA and many other countries. This fact gave the General Strike its great sweep and power.

With hospital workers in Quebec giving the example, hospital workers in Canada and the USA are starting to fight back as well. Strikes by municipal workers in Toronto and Vancouver have been inspired by the General Strike. U.S. workers, up against the Meany-enforced Nixon wage-freeze, can follow the example of the Quebec strike and shut it down until Nixon and his boss backers thaw out.

Thanks to WAM, international working-class solidarity in action is no longer a dream. Demonstrations of support for the Quebec strike took place in Toronto and in many U.S. cities. The growth of such rank-and-file movements is the workers' only guarantee that international solidarity will mean continent-wide sympathy strikes instead of telegrams.

The wavering of would-be "radicals" in the Common Front demolished their reputation as working-class leaders. Pepin's reliance on secret talks with Cournoyer, and Chartrand's windbag endorsement of the PQ and the NDP (New Democratic Party) leaves the few workers still misled by their rotten politics cynical and disorganized. Never before has the need for a mass rank-and-file organization among unionized workers been clearer. And never has a strike in Quebec shown, even on a small scale, the power of class solidarity in the face of every kind of attack the bosses can master, and every kind of sellout the union fakes can plot.

Above all, the Quebec strike demonstrated the power of the working class. Without its brains and sinew, society grinds to a halt. Communists in the Canadian Party of Labor face the task of building on this enormous strength, and raising among workers across Canada the idea that only workers' power—the dictatorship of the proletariat—can eliminate once and for all the Trudeau's, Bourassa's and their whole rotten capitalist state.

* "Ne complons que sur nos propres moyens" (we can only depend on our own means)
* Main exponent of the "national liberation-via-the-PQ" line is ex-FLQ theoretician Pierre Vallieres. Presently working for the Federal Government as a social animator, Vallieres' newest book, *L'urgence de choisir (The choice is urgent)*, is the most developed version to date of the theory of "stages to national socialism"—bosses' power on workers' backs.

'Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee'

by Dee Brown, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston
New York, 1970

1970 was a big year for "pro-Indian" histories and accounts of the post-civil War Indian wars that opened up the Great Plains and Southwest to the "manifest destiny" of U.S. imperialist expansion. Films like **Tell Them Willie Boy is Here** and **Little Big Man** were popular because they were viewed as portrayals of the Indians as struggling, oppressed people and indictments of racist, oppressive U.S. policies.

Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee, for months on the best-seller list, attempts to portray the Great American Conquest from the Indians' point of view. The U.S. bourgeoisie won this war of conquest using overwhelming force of numbers combined with deceit, treachery, a form of genocide in which whole Indian tribes rather than the entire Indian people were eliminated, terrorism, and destruction of food supplies.

It is hard to tell just why, of all the recent spate of books about the Indian wars, **Bury My Heart** should enjoy such extraordinary success. Many other books have illustrated the genocidal conquest of the Indians in graphic detail—for instance, Howard Fast's **The Last Frontier,** about the forced removal of the Cherokee from the Carolinas, Kentucky, and Tennessee to virtual annihilation in the freezing cold of the Great Plains. **Bury My Heart** was and continues in a new paperback edition to be super-successful. Did it "prick America's conscience?" Is it particularly good history? Neither of these reasons, although each may be partially true, explains the book's enormous success.

On the whole, **Bury My Heart** is factual as far as it goes. And the facts are overwhelmingly unpleasant for anyone who wants to entertain illusions about the Great American Dream, the Frontier Spirit, and the Wild West. Brown's style is professional and sometimes powerful (if also occasionally somewhat pretentious). On the whole, the book affords easy and exciting reading, despite its episodic nature. Despite Brown's technical competence as a writer and his extensive research, the success of **Bury My Heart** is fundamentally attributable to the book's political philosophy.

Book Fails To Indict Capitalism

Brown presents the Indian Wars as struggles between the (generally "good") Indians and the (generally "bad") white soldiers and Indian agents. His nationalist point of view ignores class and economic factors on both sides and fits in easily with current concepts of nationalism and "national liberation." According to **Bury My Heart,** nothing was fundamentally wrong with the social system on either side. A reader can say to himself: "If only there had been **good,** white soldiers instead of bad ones, things might have been much better." Developing American capitalism is never even **mentioned,** much less discussed seriously. Yet capitalism is the true cause of the Indian Wars and their outcome.

In this review, we will discuss the content of the book, its good points, and its limitations. We will then turn to a consideration of some areas of American Indian history in general and the Indian Wars in particular which might be productively studied from the Marxist-Leninist point of view. We hope to show that even a modest review such as this one can raise many important questions and point the way ahead for future inquiry.

Bury My Heart is extensively researched and very well documented. Brown used a wealth of secondary sources, but most important are his primary sources: records of Congressional hearings and committee work, War Department documents, and many verbatim reports by Indians. All are listed in the footnotes and bibliography.

A reader can turn to almost any page and find something of interest. The extermination and/or forced resettlement of Indians began with the first landing of Europeans on North America. No attempts were made by the European settlers to integrate with the Indians. Brown doesn't mention the fact that although the Spanish followed a policy of integration to a limited extent in Mexico, Central Amer-

ica, and the west coast of South America, extermination was European policy on the eastern slope of the Andes. In the Virginia colony (1607), the native Powhatan population was quickly reduced from eight to one thousand. In Massachusetts, the Pemaquids, Wampanoags, and Narragansetts initially aided the European settlers by giving them food and teaching them how to grow corn. They were completely wiped out by 1875. In 1641, the Dutch killed all the inhabitants of two Raritan villages on Staten Island and then burned the buildings. Except for a few scattered survivors here and there, all that remains of the Chesapeakes, the Chickahominys, the Potomacs, the Pequots, Montauks, Catawbas, Miamis, Hurons, Eries, Mowhawks, Senecas, and Mohegans are their names.

Treaties were signed and broken by the Europeans and then the Americans with virtually clocklike regularity. The Indian masses were hindered in their dealings about land, since in pre-capitalist Indian culture, private landownership and therefore the **concept** of private landownership didn't exist. Since, according to this culture, all the land belongs simultaneously to the "Great Spirit" and to everyone together, why quibble over individual ownership. The Indian masses learned why too late. Even when the Americans "gave" the Indians land on various occasions, they soon found a pretext to take it away again.

In 1830, U.S. President Andrew ("Sharp Knife") Jackson, who had led the 1819 extermination of the Florida Seminoles, devised a plan to move all Indians west of the Mississippi. With a few exceptions, this was carried out. Several years later, a "permanent Indian Frontier" was established, along the 95th meridian, generally to the west of Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, and Louisiana. The Indians were to be left alone in the Great Plains. This at least was the rhetoric of the U.S. government, which proceeded to cancel the arrangement unilaterally, following the Mexican War, the California Gold Rush, and the opening of the Oregon Trail. By 1860, the U.S. population numbered 34,000,000. Immigration from Europe was increasing rapidly. The American industrial capitalists were about to triumph over the landed aristocrats in the Civil War (a struggle that Brown does not even seriously allude to). There were all of 300,000 Indians, most of them scattered over the Great Plains.

Negotiations vs. Fighting?

Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee is about the Plains Indians. All the well-known leaders—Sitting Bull, Little Crow, Red Cloud, Geronimo, Cochise, Crazy Horse, even the real Little Big Man (an Indian)—as well as many others, come alive in its pages. The book presents a series of episodes, concerning each of the major tribes on the Great Plains. The scenario of each chapter is very similar to that of the next. Indians live on a certain place. Most tribes hunt; a few more developed one's farm. Americans arrive, wanting either to work the Indians' land or to build roads or railroads through it. In most cases the Indians' leadership is split on the question of whether ot negotiate with the Americans or fight them. In a few exceptions, the leadership was united around the concept of fighting, notably Red Cloud on the Powder River in 1868 and Sitting Bull on the Little Bighorn in 1876. These were the two greatest of very few Indian victories in the Warm and unity among the leadership around the question of fighting and opposing negotiations was undoubtedly a major factor in deciding the outcome. However, the usual pattern was to negotiate first and fight afterwards, when the treaties concluded were invariably broken by the U.S. government almost immediately after they had been signed.

Thus each chapter tells about negotiations, the details of the treaties, the details of the treaty abrogations, the details of the battles and subsequent massacre of Indian women and children that inevitably accompanied U.S. Army actions, and of the final defeat, disarming, and dispersal of the tribe under consideration—Sioux or Cheyenne, Arapaho or Apache, Comanche or Kiowa.

The U.S. Army frequently used terror. General James Carleton offered bounties for Navajo scalps in 1863 to soldiers operating under the legendary American "hero" Kit Carson. Scalping had previously been known to the Navajos only as an abhorrent csutom of the Spanish conquistadores. It had been introduced to the Great Plains one year earlier by soldiers fighting Little Crow's Santee Sioux. Kit Carson himself defeated the Navajo primarily by destroying their food crops.

Racist U.S. "Heroes"

In all of the wars, destruction of villages and massacres of women and children were major tactics employed by the U.S. Army. These massacres are too numerous to list. By far the most brutal American general of all was another great "hero," George Armstrong Custer, known to the Indians as Long Hair or Hard Backsides. His famous "Last Stand" on the Little Bighorn came about because he thought he had an easy massacre but badly underestimated the armed strength of the Indians led by Sitting Bull.

Phil Sheridan was another U.S. Army "hero." He had learned the scorched-earth policy in the Shenandoah Valley campaign of the Civil War—even before William Tecumseh Sherman used it in the Deep South. Sheridan said: "The only good Indians I ever saw were dead." This soon became the famous racist adage: "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." Sheridan had a plan to destroy the Indians by exterminating the buffalo. He said about the white hunters: "Let them kill, skin, and sell until the buffalo is exterminated, as it is the only way to bring lasting peace and allow civilization to advance." To Sheridan, "civilization" was inconceivable without eliminating both the buffalo that enabled the Comanche to live and the Comanche along with it.

This in essence is the gist of the book: the Indians were generally "good." The "whites," as Brown always calls Americans, were generally "bad." The Indians were up against insurmountable odds. The U.S. government's best weapons were terror, food destruction, and deceit. Even the last "battle" was a massacre of about 300 unarmed

Indians, believers in a last-gasp messianic religion that predicted the return of all dead Indians and Buffalo. The massacre occurred when the 300 came to turn themselves in to the U.S. Army at a North Dakota Creek called Wounded Knee.

On the whole, as we have pointed out, **Bury My Heart** is well-written and often gripping. The reader is given many insights into Indian culture and customs. The use of literal translations of Indian names for themselves and their U.S. adversaries is often interesting. Months are referred to by their Indian names: the Moon of the Butting Deer, the Moon of the Strong Cold, the Moon when the Snow Drifts into the Tepees, the Drying Grass Moon. The index is excellent. Each chapter places the action in perspective with a chronology of major international events and developments. However, the book also has many limitations of both a practical and theoretical character.

Overview Lacking

Bury My Heart presents no overview of the War for the Great Plains. This was really a 30-year war from 1860 to 1890. But Brown gives us no overall picture; rather, he contents himself with stringing one incident after another. For example, a major campaign against the Sioux and Cheyenne in 1866-7 which seemed to mark a climax in the war. The next thirteen years appear to be a prolonged "mop-up" campaign by the U.S. government with the issue having already been decided. But the events of 1866-7 must be put into relationship with subsequent events by the reader. The author doesn't do it. He also supplies no maps, either of the territories in question or of battles.

Fundamentally, however, the book's greatest weakness lies in its outlook. Brown consistently presents the struggle as one between Indians and whites. This presentation does not allow the reader to understand the why and wherefore of the war. It is like saying that World War II was caused because the German people were all racists—an untrue, anti-working class, and profoundly misleading explanation. A Marxist-Leninist understands that no major historical events occur by accident and that there must be underlying causes for them. The Great Plains War is no exception. In order to be understood, it must be placed in the perspective of developing American capitalism and imperialism.

Certainly the westward expansion was imperialist. The United States government had no more "right" to that land than did anybody else. Although the land was greatly underpopulated and although the Indians had no feudal or capitalist sense of landownership, if the land "belonged" to anyone, by virtue of history alone, it belonged to the Indians. In any event, there was no "objective" antagonism that would have prevented American and Indian farmers and hunters from living, working, and hunting on the land in collective harmony. But U.S. bosses, flexing their young muscles, took it away from them, just as surely as they took the Southwest from Mexico and Florida, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines from Spain—and would have taken Canada from the British if they could have.

Why did the U.S. bourgeoisie need the westward imperialist expansion? Five reasons come readily to mind. First was the drive to exploit the land and resources for their own sakes. Vast tracts were available for farming, sheep-herding, and cattle-grazing. Abundant quantities of gold, silver, and other minerals lay under ground. There were vast forests. Railroads had to be built that would join the two coasts. Second, even before 1861, the capitalist class was desperate to expand "free" labor into the Great Plains, in order to prevent their slave-owning competitors from moving into that area. Slavery cannot fuel capitalist production: "free" labor, represented by the proletariat, is the specific product of the capitalist mode of production. By the same token, there was an equally strong desire on the part of the Southern aristocracy to expand westward. Some of them saw slavery extending through the Great Plains all the way to the Canadian border. Only the Indians stood in the way of both Northern capitalists and Southern feudalists.

A third reason for westward expansion—especially after the Civil War—was the need for outlets for the masses of immigrants pouring into the United States whom the capitalists wanted to use as super-exploited cheap labor. In 1860, by European standards, the U.S. was hardly over-populated. Population density was about 20 per square mile—as compared with today's 50—but food-growing capacity was much less then, and the population was increasing rapidly. (It more than doubled between 1860 and 1900). A "reserve army" of unemployed is necessary to capitalist growth, but a minimum amount of food is also necessary to feed the workers and pacify the unemployed. So Horace Greely of the arch-capitalist New York **Tribune** said "Go West!"—and go the capitalists did. Only the Indians stood in their way.

Racism

A fourth reason was racism. The Indian myths were very useful to the ruling class. There were easily as many myths about Indians then as there are now about black, Latin, Vietnamese, or any other people super-exploited and oppressed by the bourgeoisie. Indians were called "lazy," "good-for-nothing," "stupid," and "shiftless;" they were reputed to be "weak," "deceitful," "treacherous," "sneaky," and "vicious." (How the ruling class projects!) They were "heathen," "godless," and "totally lacking in Christian virtues." Worst of all, of course, they were **in the way** of expanding U.S. capitalism. Racism is a tool of capitalism. If workers of one nationality can be turned against workers of another, they can more readily be distracted from class struggle. In this particular context, racism was wrapped in the theory of capitalism's "Manifest Destiny" to expand westward, the American flag, and cavalry-to-the-rescue—and an indispensable ideological weapon for the use of the ruling class was perfected.

Finally, as we have already mentioned, the open land in the West was coveted by railroad owners, cattle barons, robber barons, and other industrialists. In order to settle it, they needed workers. Although they kept the lion's share of the good land for themselves, (twenty miles of land on either side of railroad tracks were legally reserved for the railroads), they also opened up millions of acres to homesteaders. Anyone in a position to take it was given his chance. This setup was therefore

useful in perpetuating the capitalist myth that "any man can make good if he works hard," and that if he doesn't succeed, it's his own fault. Of course, to make homesteading work in capitalism's favor, the bourgeoisie had to do away with migrating Indians and their wandering food supplies, the buffalo.

Certainly, other reasons can be found to explain the War of the Great Plains. Further examination of the facts, coupled with Marxist-Leninist analysis, would reveal them. Also important to an understanding of U.S. history is a correct understanding of the total fabric of Indian culture and political economy. What was the class structure of Indian society? What were the exploitative patterns? What was behind the concept of "non-ownership?" What was the role of religion? How did the struggle over negotiating vs. fighting with the U.S. government take place among the various chiefs and tribes? How did the economies function? Much work needs to be done.

One remark that can be made with assurance, however, is that imperialism has not changed character one bit between the War of the Great Plains and the Vietnam war. The genocidal character of imperialism is equally evident in each case. The capitalists fought the Indians primarily to exterminate them. In Vietnam, this is not the case: U.S. imperialism wants to exploit millions of Vietnamese workers and farmers. Nonetheless, U.S. bosses are waging direct war against the vast majority of Vietnamese workers, farmers, and intellectuals. Almost everyone in Vietnam (so we are told) is on "the other side"—except for a few fascist clients. The War of the Great Plains had such clients too. Many Pawnees worked for the Army as scouts, but so did some Crows, Utes, and Shoshones. Eventually, the government created an "Indian Police," and one of its members, Sergeant Red Tomohawk, assassinated Sitting Bull just before the Wounded Knee massacre. Major weapons in both wars were terrorism and crop destruction. The string of broken promises in both wars is very long, as is the string of secret plans for escalation. Negotiations with imperialism have failed both Indians and Vietnamese who were suckered into them.

The few Indian victories, such as the war on the Powder River in 1868 and the battle of Little Big Horn in 1876, seem to have put into practice aspects of people's war. The entire tribe—not just the warriors—were involved in the struggle.

The capitalist press was used in both Indian and Vietnam wars to make the "enemy" seem what he isn't: an inherently evil, totally unprincipled aggressor. In both cases, the government spent much effort to conceal its brutality from the people. In **Bury My Heart,** Brown does not deal with the "pro-Indian," anti-imperialist movement in the 19th century U.S. to any great extent. Such a movement did exist. A close examination of it could be most revealing. In both Indian and Vietnam wars, imperialism created a mass of refugees, forced them onto useless land, and then blamed them for their own penury. This was particularly true in the War of the Great Plains. Indians were uprooted, often in mid-winter, and then shifted onto worthless land, after their leaders had been imprisoned or killed. The Indian Bureau handed out the worst food, supplies, and implements—and in any case, most tribes had had a hunting rather than a farming economy. When these people succumbed to infectious disease or the alcohol the government forced on them to quell their militancy, the Indian Bureau came up with the hackneyed racist explanation that "... we told you they were good-for-nothing." The parallels between the Vietnam War and the War of the Great Plains are striking. Imperialist brutality, exploitation, racism, and deceit are nothing new.

Dee Brown has written an exciting, readable book about the War of the Great Plains, but he looks only at the trees and fails to see the forest. His philosophy is nationalist. The struggle is explained in terms of good Indians vs. bad whites, rather than as a fight between a pre-feudal hunting economy and a capitalist, proto-imperialist one. Brown has opened up the field of inquiry, but his explanation serves the interests of neither the Indian hunter-peasants nor the U.S. working class.

Is Chile Socialist?

IN SEPTEMBER 1970, SALVADOR ALLENDE was elected president of Chile. The event was widely heralded as the first time a socialist government had been legally elected in the Western Hemisphere. In this article, the situation in Chile is examined to see if Chile has been transformed and is socialist. The main questions asked are: What has happened to the conditions of the workers in Chile, and what has happened to the workers' struggles? What has happened to the economy; who finances Chilean investment? What is the attitude of the imperialist countries towards Chile? And what is the role of "popular front" governments like Allende's in the international class struggle?

CHILE UNDER FREI

For the past sixty years the main fact of Chilean economic life was the extraction of a total of $10.8 billion in profits by the U.S. copper companies from Chilean mines. This great robbery was made possible with an initial investment of less than $4 million. In the same period, the total gross national product of Chile was $10.5 billion. Anaconda had 17% of its investment in Chile, and derived 80% of its profits from these investments.

But U.S. business was not content with control of the copper industry. U.S. imperialism "developed" virtually all of Chilean industry: nitrates (Anglo Lautaro), salt (Diamond Crystal), manufactured foodstuffs (W.R. Grace, General Mills, Ralston Purina, Coca Cola), petrochemicals (Dow, Monsanto, W.R. Grace), textiles (W.R. Grace), office equipment (Xerox, Sperry Rand, NCR, W.R. Grace, Sherwin Williams), cement (Koppers), glass (Corning, PPG), explosives (Dupont), pulp and paper (Simpson Timber, Parsons and Whittemore, Crown Zellerbach), construction (Utah Mining and Construction and others).

Also, motor vehicles (Studebaker, Chrysler, Ford, GM), tires (General Tire and Rubber, Firestone), electrical equipment (GE), iron and steel (Armco, Bethlehem, Textron, Singer, Hoover, N.A. Rockwell, W.R. Grace, Rheem), copper fabricating (NIBCO, Phelps Dodge, General Cable), oil distribution (Standard Oil, Mobil, IBEC, Phillips, Gulf, Texaco), drugs (Sterling, Parke Davis, Schering, Abbott, Bristol Myers, Pfizer, Upjohn, Squibb), utilities and transportation (Boise Cascade, ITT, W.R. Grace, Braniff), advertising (J. Walter Thompson, Grant, McCann-Erikson).

Also, banking and finance (Bank of America, First National City Bank, IBEC, John Hancock, City Investing Co., Great American Insurance Co.), movies (Twentieth Century Fox, Universal Artists, MGM, Columbia, Paramount, Universal, Warner Bros., Allied Artists), management and accounting services (Dun and Bradstreet, Arthur Young, International Business Consultants, IBEC, Price Waterhouse), tourism (ITT-Sheraton, Holiday Inn), and other miscellaneous industries (Gillette, Proctor and Gamble, Johnson's Wax, Reader's Digest, Caterpillar, Kodak, General Signal Corp., Ingersoll Rand, Westinghouse Air Brake, Continental Can).

Over 100 U.S. corporations have a substantial direct investment in Chile amounting to $1 billion. Of the top officers and directors of the 50 largest Chilean corporations, about two-thirds have direct ties to foreign-controlled corporations. Rockefeller's IBEC (Int'l. Basic Economy Corp.) alone has holdings or directorships in 13 of the 25 largest non-banking Chilean corporations. Virtually all the important imperialist capital is U.S. capital: as of 1966, only one of the top 25 Chilean corporations had as much as 5% of its stock controlled by a non-U.S. foreign firm.

BUT EVEN THIS UNDERSTATES THE CONTROL U.S. imperialism has of the Chilean economy: the locally-owned Chilean industry is controlled by four interest groups, each of which has strong links to the U.S. and other imperialist powers. (The Yarur interest group, for instance, has shared investments with W.R. Grace.) And, together, these four national capitalist groups control 75% of the large "domestic" firms.

Since 1900, the Chilean working class has been organizing and rebelling against these imperialist bosses. Led by the nitrate workers and the railroad workers in the twenties and thirties, big strikes were organized which spread to all segments of the population, including the peasants (largely rural landless workers) and the students. This led to the adoption of some social legislation in Chile, just as U.S. workers' struggles led to the New Deal program.

The working-class movement in Chile is an anti-imperialist movement, and, to maintain any popularity with the people, Chilean governments have adopted "anti-imperialist" postures of one sort or

another. Their latest effort before Allende was the government of Eduardo Frei, a figure in the Kennedy image, who pledged to nationalize the copper mines and initiate land reform.

Nationalization of copper was not viewed as a radical act by anybody, including the U.S. companies. Chile bought 51% of the shares of the big mines, with a promise from the imperialists that the money paid Kennecott and Anaconda would be lent back to the government to help expand copper investment. Thus, the big U.S. companies would still be creditors in the Chilean copper industry, and would exercise key financial control. In addition, the important marketing apparatus and even the day-to-day managerial control remained in the hands of Anaconda and Kennecott. The "nationalization" was tantamount to the Chilean government underwriting an investment to the U.S. copper firms, in exchange for nominal control (51% of the shares).

FREI'S LAND REFORM PROGRAM WAS ABOUT as genuine as his return of the copper mines to the people. He promised land for 100,000 families, and ended up giving it to 30,000 and spending $100 million compensating the big land-owners.

Strikes among copper workers and other workers increased. In March 1966, workers at El Teniente, the large U.S.-owned copper mine, went on strike for wage increases. Other miners declared a sympathy strike. The government declared the strike illegal. Troops invaded the union hall at Anaconda's El Salvador mine and killed six miners and two women, wounding 40 others.

In November 1967, a nation-wide strike was called to protest anti-strike legislation and a proposal to cut wages as an inflation control. U.S.-trained soldiers attacked the strikers with helicopters, tear gas, tanks and guns. In Santiago, seven were killed and many wounded.

In March 1969, the anti-riot police killed nine farmworkers as 100 families, whom they were evicting from a piece of land, put up a fight. In August 1970, 1,200 peasant families organized to seize land, and Frei was afraid to send the police to stop them. Previously, in 1960, he had interfered with a squatter's movement and the peasants had won.

Prices soared, unemployment rose, the housing shortage grew more critical. Frei's democratic reform hoax failed to fool the Chilean people, and did not make Chile safe for U.S. imperialism. Stronger medicine was needed, and the September elections handed the torch to Salvador Allende.

ALLENDE'S POLITICS AND WORKERS' STRUGGLES

The notion of having a Marxist—the first one voted to power in the Western Hemisphere—was a hard bite to swallow. There were two related arguments for going ahead with it. The first was the hope that Dr. Allende, a popular and moderate and intelligent man, could neutralize the strong leftist agitation emerging in Chile by moving the country toward socialistic reform. —Christian Science Monitor, **editorial (June 6, 1971)**

One-fifth of the people in Chile have no homes. They live in shanties or occupy empty apartment buildings. Unemployment is high. Just before Allende was elected, in Sept. 1970, urban unemployment was estimated at between 12% and 28%. (Officially, the rate was 6.4%.) About two-thirds the families of Chile were living on incomes of less than $2 per day.

Wages for those working are paltry. A beer worker's salary is equivalent to $1.40 a day, for a 9-1 hour day. Many workers with families of seven ea half that amount. Live-in domestic help earn $ a month plus room and board. Under Frei inflati was 35% in 1970. By the first half of 1971 Allen had reduced the rise to 17% annually.

The rural conditions are even worse. About ha of the agricultural force are wage laborers sharecroppers, who receive little or no wages. Son **campesinos** make as little as $50 a year. Anoth 25% own tiny plots of land not sufficient for a famil About 4% of the population own the latifundia comprising 80% of the land.

About half of the rural inhabitants are unde nourished; 85% have inadequate housing. Less tha 4% of the houses have running water and under 20 have electricity. The infant mortality rate is 1 per 1000; among the Mapuche Indians, who com prise 25% of the rural population, 60% of the infan die in the first year.

Fifty per cent of Chile's working-class childre do not finish the third grade, and 85% drop out b sixth grade. As of 1968, 2% of university student came from working class backgrounds.

Allende's campaign pledge was to do somethin about these atrocious conditions afflicting th Chilean working class, but to do so entirely withi the legal, constitutional framework, and witho violence. On **Meet the Press** Allende declared

The government of Chile is not a Marxist government. It is a people's revolutionary government. The program of unity is not a socialist program. There is pluralism in our government. Chile seeks its own road. We are a revolutionary government, we are carrying out our program through legal, constitutional channels .... I am an admirer of Lincoln, not only of Castro. I am an authentic democrat. I am a personal friend of Fidel Castro, but we follow our own path in Chile. (abridged from Meet the Press *interview, Oct. 31, 1971)*

OVER AND OVER AGAIN CHILE BENDS OVE backwards to convince its own businessmen an foreign investors that it is **not** a socialist or com munist state, but a "democratic" one. (This in it self is an anti-communist slur, implying socialis states are not democratic.) Chile declares it wi not "export" revolution. One incident is noteworth fascist Brazil exiled some leftist political prisoner to Chile, who accepted them on condition they woul not "foment" revolution in Brazil from Chile.

Allende implemented a number of specific re forms in the first months after his election, b they did not have the desired effect of stopping th workers' rebellion or making any significant turn around in living conditions. The government sup plied a free half-litre of milk a day for all your children. A general wage increase of 35% was de clared, and selected companies who would not g along with it were taken over by the governmen (This 35% increase just erased the inflation

1970.) The minimum **daily** wage was raised to 20 Escudos, about $1.65. Allende has plans to embark on mass housing construction for 90,000 families. This is also part of his plan to create jobs. The government does not guarantee jobs for workers in Chile. In January 1971, the Ministry of Public Works announced it had created 10,000 new jobs. In 1970 unemployment in the construction industry was 22%.

HOWEVER, THE WORKERS HAVE NOT BEEN satisfied with Allende's Performance. Big strikes have continued. In October, immediately after his election, 5,000 Anaconda workers went on strike demanding a 43% wage increase. Allende appealed to them to go back to work since the demands "are not in line with the wage plans of the government." Two thousand phone workers (ITT) also went on strike, demanding $1 million in bonuses. Other strikes were conducted demanding immediate implementation of the wage increases Allende had promised.

In August 1971, work stoppages occurred involving 4,500 workers at the huge El Salvador and Chuquicamata copper mines. They returned to work after 12 days, winning a 33% increase in wages. The starting up of a pulp mill (37% owned by the U.S. firm Parsons and Whittemore) was delayed four months by strikes. Workers at the Banco de Credito e Inversiones occupied the bank, and a commission was formed to "study the situation." All over Chile workers occupied plants demanding wage increases, better conditions and a say in the running of the plant.

A general tactic the government had of dealing with these rebellions was to take the plants over nominally and appoint a commission of workers, management and government to run the plant. Where the local capitalists couldn't control the workers, the government used its prestige along with the farce of these joint labor-management committees to stop the struggle. The unions also played a role in this, which will be discussed later.

The government tried to cool off these strikes by using nationalist propaganda, and appealing to workers to support "their" government. About the El Salvador mine strike Allende said:

> *The strike cannot continue. It is not easy for the working classes to understand what it means to be part of the government, to be, in fact, the government. The copper worker must understand that his problem, however important, is not more important than that of Chile. I will go to El Salvador to talk with the workers myself, not to reprimand them, for they are exercising a right—the right to strike—which we respect. But I will impose, if I have it, and I believe I do, a moral authority.* (New York Times Magazine, *Oct. 17, 1971)*

ALLENDE USED THE SAME APPROACH TO try to get workers to speed up and decrease absenteeism. He talks about how Chilean workers have to understand that the country is now "theirs," and they should mend their ways. In the early months of his presidency, he initiated days of "socialist labor" when everyone was supposed to work one day for free to bolster the economy. (Remember when Harold Wilson tried the same trick in England several years ago to try to avoid devaluation of the pound.)

The rural workers and peasants have also been very militant, and their acts have been met by the government in the same way. Peasants disregarded the pleas of the government to wait for legal expropriations, and seized land. Allende unleashed a vituperative attack on them, saying there was no justification for the seizures. He blamed the seizures on the leadership of "extremist left-wing groups" and tried to sway urban workers against the peasants by saying the seizures would result in a decline in food output. At one farm, peasants clashed with police, and Allende appealed for "unity and patience."

In August 1971, workers at 600 farms in two provinces went on strike for wages. The owners offered an increase equivalent to the rise in the cost of living, and the Labor Ministry ordered the strikers to return to work. In another incident, farm workers marched 60 miles to the Ministry of Agriculture to protest that the agrarian reform was proceeding too slowly. Minister of Agriculture Jacques Chonchol declared the campesinos had to take a "broader view" and try to understand the difficulties in redistributing the land and keeping up production levels. Allende knew from Frei's failure, however, that sending the police and army to halt the seizures would not work in the long run. The government for the most part limited its attack to issuing decrees and statements, and jailing leaders of the insurrections.

ANOTHER MOVEMENT WHICH ALLENDE argued against was the taking over of empty housing projects by 5,000 homeless "squatters" shortly after his election. He implored the workers to wait, but was afraid to send police to stop them.

Although the government has been hesitant to use massive force against rebelling workers and peasants for fear of losing its credibility, it has repressed leaders of the movements, and particularly those it brands as "leftists." The government apparently jailed leaders of the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) who were reputed to be organizers of the farm seizures. "Guerrillas" were arrested while painting revolutionary slogans on walls in Santiago. A group called the Popular Workers' Vanguard is being suppressed by the government; the leader was gunned down by detectives. The Chilean Communist Party (whose right-wing politics are discussed later) claims he was a CIA agent. In addition, the leader of MIR was found dead in his apartment, "presumably as the result of an accident."

As well as the attacks on Allende's government by strikes of workers and peasants, there is considerable ideological attack on Allende from the left by student groups. During his trip to Chile, Castro did Allende the favor of trying to calm down these students:

> *Fidel Castro advised Chilean students yesterday to take it easy on the road to socialism. The visiting Cuban premier spoke at the University of Concepcion, a center of ultra-leftist groups which criticize President Salvador Allende's government as not revolutionary enough.... A student asked if Castro still backed Guevara's theory of 'creating one, two, three and many Vietnams in Latin America.' The Cuban leader refused to answer.* (San Francisco Chronicle, *Nov. 19, 1971)*

THE MODERATE NATURE OF ALLENDE'S REforms and the way in which he tries to sabotage the struggles of the workers make it clearer why he had, for the first year at least, the tacit support of the Christian Democrats, the party of Frei. Chile's largest party is not a member of Unidad Popular, the united front of six parties which put Allende in office, but it exercises a good deal of muscle in Allende's program, and views him as a "loyal opposition," certainly not a rebel out to destroy capitalism in Chile. In return for their votes in Congress which Allende needed to get elected, he pledged to the Christian Democrats a Statute of Democratic Guarantees committing him to preserve:

1) the political system and guarantees of individual liberty (sic)
2) the legal system
3) armed forces free from political intervention
4) "independence" of the educational system and trade unions. (That is, to preserve, in toto, the capitalist-controlled state structures.)

The Christian Democrats also got Allende to promise that the Minister of Defense would not be a Socialist or a Communist. Allende appointed a member of the Radical Party, the most conservative of the parties in the coalition. By agreeing to the above Statute, Allende is guaranteeing that all the institutions of the state shall remain unchanged and the ruling class shall continue to control them. Consequently, the Christian Democrats have agreed to support him in everything he does which is in the "national interest."

Allende has not meddled with the police or the army. He has raised military pay and purchased new defense equipment. The Chilean army of 46,000 is U.S.-trained, which indicates where it stands. Under Frei the army broke strikes. As recently as July 1971, the U.S. gave Chile $5 million in military aid! Which is more significant, vague remarks emanating from the State Department criticizing Chile for expropriating U.S. copper interests, or $5 million in cold cash for guns?

ALLENDE EVEN RECEIVED SUPPORT IN HIS election from parties to the right of the Christian Democrats. The representative of the conservative forces in the 1970 election, Jorge Alessandri, convinced his supporters to join the Christian Democrats and elect Allende in Congress to break a stand-off. The **Christian Science Monitor** (June 14, 1971) explained, "They wanted to prove the democratic tradition in Chile was stronger than leftist-rightist tensions which were getting more serious by the month." Translation: the ruling class of Chile realized it had to overcome its tactical differences and present a united front to defeat the working class, growing more rebellious by the hour.

Not only does Allende pander to the traditional capitalist parties in Chile, but the capitalist parties have been forced to adopt a more radical appearance to maintain any support from the population. Thus, in 1969 a new party (MAPU) was created as a left split-off from the Christian Democrats. This party sounds even more "radical" than the Socialist party, Allende's party. Jacques Chonchol, the Minister of Agriculture, is the founder of MAPU More recently, in August 1971, a number of Christian Democrats resigned to form another leftis splinter, the Christian Leftist Movement, and were joined by Chonchol and other founders of MAPU

In addition, the Christian Democratic Party, a a recent central committee meeting, decided tha although it was not a follower of Allende's "stat socialism," it supports "communitarian social ism." (Nevertheless, they reaffirmed that they wi go along with Allende's specific projects.) Every body in Chile these days has to call himself a so cialist to be listened to at all. This is equivalen to the Democratic Party in the U.S. coming out fo socialism—a pure hoax.

In an article in **Foreign Affairs**, journal of th Council on Foreign Policy, a high level U.S. ruli class policy group chaired by David Rockefelle the situation in Chile is summarized:

> *One would assume that if Chile succeeds in making an efficient, civilized and democratic transition to socialism, the U.S. could do worse than present her experience as a suitable model for other Latin American countries to follow.* (Foreign Affairs, *April, 1971)*

WHAT HAPPENED TO U.S. FIRMS IN CHILE

> **The first thing to remember is that in nearly any apparent abrupt change, business goes on as usual. Despite all the disruptions that Latin America has experienced since World War II, foreign investment has nearly tripled to nearly $20 billion, $12 billion of it U.S. private investment.**
>
> **...Who would have ever invested in Mexico after the 1938 oil expropriations, or in Brazil with its runaway inflation and growing threat to foreign investment under Goulart in the early 1960s?**
>
> **Despite all the clamor, Chile is not Cuba and will be leaving room for the foreign investor who can adapt and not run out on the potential market.** (Business Internation **April 30, 1971)**

With the exception of the big copper companie which Allende expropriated with much fanfare demonstrate his anti-imperialist position to th Chilean people, the U.S. firms which were in Chi under Frei have succeeded in maintaining interes there in various ways. That the expropriation Kennecott and Anaconda properties is not the ma aspect of Chile's dealings with the U.S. is indicat by several facts: 1) the dealings with other Amer can companies and banks; 2) the low key respon from the Nixon administration to the expropri tions; 3) continued U.S. military aid and credits Chile, and Allende's insistence that Chilean soil w never be used as a base for an attack on the U.S 4) Chile's continued dealings with and dependen on the international finance organizations which a controlled by the U.S. imperialists.

The usual deal which Chile works out with U. firms is for them to stay in Chile as "junior par ners" to the government. For instance, RCA so its stock in electronics manufacturing to the gover ment reducing its holdings to 49%. In addition getting a fat price for the stock, RCA has receiv a guaranteed minimum 5% annual return on its i vestment, and a contract with Chile to act as t purchasing agent for new electronic equipment. Th last agreement will naturally boost RCA exports Chile.

THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY IS ANOTHER TYPIcal example. Dow Chemical has built three chemical plants in conjunction with the government, putting up 70% of the capital. The plants are worth $30 million. Allende is negotiating for additional government equity, but Dow will maintain control.

Continental Copper and Steel Industries owns a 59% interest in a medium-sized copper mine (42.5 million). Chile wants them to stay there, and has specifically said it does not intend to nationalize medium-sized copper companies (producing less than 75,000 tons a year). Harold Hochschild, the "liberal" U.S. mining magnate with large African holdings, also has an interest in a medium-sized Chilean copper mine (Montas Blancos). Cerro, which was the third largest U.S. copper company in Chile and was paid for its holdings, unlike Kennecott and Anaconda, has a contract similar to RCA's whereby it acts as the purchasing agent for new equipment for the old U.S. copper mines. Bethlehem Steel sold its plant to Chile for $30 million, payable over 17 years at 5.5% interest, which it considered a "fair" price, and could give Bethlehem some leverage in Chile for the next 17 years.

The Northern Indiana Brass Company (NIBCO) sold its Chilean property to the government for $300,000 and Chile also took over the firm's debt. However, NIBCO negotiated a marketing and technical agreement with Chile to "assist in the management of its former properties." This allows NIBCO and its international counterparts to gain a nice foothold in the Chilean metals industry. Armco Steel worked out an arrangement where it reduces its holdings to 34% of the company, the rest being sold to the government for par value. The $1 million it gets from Chile for these shares it is reinvesting to build a galvinizing plant in partnership with the government.

THE SITUATION WITH U.S. BANKS IN CHILE is similar. First National City Bank had eight branches which the government is buying for 30% more than the $3.5 million book value. The money is to be paid over a five year period. Bank of America's branches were purchased through a $1.9 million loan from the bank, repayable over seven years. When interviewed about this transaction the bank said the details were not made public because of the sensitivity of the negotiations, and because the bank still has loans there, but Bank of America is "very pleased."

The above facts show that the Allende govern-

Members of the MIR (revolutionary left wing movement) clash with right-wingers at the Univ. of Santiago de Chile

ment, far from nationalizing or interfering with U.S. property in Chile, is actually working out financial arrangements that will perpetuate U.S. imperialist control of the Chilean economy. In all cases the arrangements are highly favorable to the big U.S. monopolies and often amount to a subsidy by the "socialist" government to the U.S. imperialist corporations. No wonder the Bank of America is "very pleased." The one seeming exception to this rule is the nationalization of Anaconda and Kennecott Copper mines. Let's give this a second look.

1. As we pointed out, the cost of the mines to Anaconda and Kennecott was $4 million, from which they already extracted a profit of $10.8 billion. **Since 1900 Chile has paid Anaconda and Kennecott for its property 2700 TIMES OVER.** Any further payment to the companies would be superfluous.

2. Despite this, the Frei government, Allende's predecessor, bought 51% of the shares of the mines at a cost several hundred times over the original investment. The president of Kennecott called the agreement the **only** "way for American corporations to operate profitably abroad." The Allende government is honoring this agreement and continuing to maintain these exhorbitant payments to Anaconda and Kennecott.

3. The Allende government took over the debts of these mines, a sum which also exceeded the original investment many times over.

4. Despite having paid for these mines already more than 3,000 times their original price, the Allende government is willing to negotiate even further payments to the copper monopolies.

5. Since copper fabrication remains in the hands of the monopolies, Chile will sell the copper to the monopolies. And since the price of copper is set unilaterally by the U.S. copper monopolies (they control the international copper marketing apparatus), Anaconda and Kennecott will continue to collect a huge profit off future Chilean production.

6. In February 1972, Allende agreed to pay back to Kennecott an $85 million loan which the company had lent to the g o v e r n m e n t to develop El Teniente. Allende's first payment of $8.3 million was spurred by the threat of a U.S. district court to attach all Chilean bank assets in the U.S.

We ask: who is expropriating whom?

CHILEAN BUSINESSMEN

Of the 30,000 private businesses in Chile the government plans to nationalize 150. In Allende's State of the Union message he declared that businessmen still will make a fair profit in Chile, although the profit per item will be smaller, this being compensated for by greater volume.

The government subsidizes private industry in various ways. The planning agency, CORFO, is the organization entrusted with this responsibility. The board of directors of CORFO is composed of government officials and representatives of the industrial, mining, trade, agricultural and professional activities of the private sector. CORFO prides itself on being "autonomous" which means its policies are not drastically altered by the coming and going of different presidents, but are controlled by the more or less stable board of directors, largely from the private sector. CORFO established a New York office in 1940 which "maintains a very close relationship with top financial and business circles in the United States," according to its brochure. The office is still there.

Over the five-year period 1965-9, 60% of the $325 million CORFO channelled into the economy went to the private sector. Of its industrial loans (as opposed to mining and agricultural) 78% went to the private sector. There is no reason to believe this figure will change radically under Allende.

In addition, the Central Bank of Chile subsidizes private industry. With a number of industries, especially consumer goods, the government is contracting to produce a certain quota which it will guarantee to buy. In addition these companies get a 12% reduction on the interest rate charged to them on Central Bank loans. The Central Bank has also authorized allocations to small and medium copper companies to cover the costs of imports. The Bank extended special credits to the construction industry to encourage it to realize Allende's goal of building 90,000 units in 1971.

ALLENDE HAS CREATED A CAPITAL FUND which will be built up by a "compulsory loan" of 15% of the profits of all industry. This is not a tax, but a loan, and although some Chilean capitalists squawked about it, the money will be used to bolster Chilean businessmen by adding to CORFO's fund.

What happened to the copper mines which were expropriated? They are now being run by commissions formed by the Chileans who were on the boards of directors before under Kennecott and Anaconda. These are big Chilean businessmen, and since they were appointed in the first place by Anaconda and Kennecott they undoubtedly still owe their allegiance to the U.S. companies.

Is it correct to say, then, that Allende is kicking out U.S. imperialism and turning over the spoils to the Chilean capitalists? Hardly. The big imperialist powers still maintain control of key positions in the Chilean economy, as has been discussed above, and will be elaborated on. On the other hand, the Chilean capitalists are getting a share of the spoils from the regime. Whatever the precise balance of power between foreign and Chilean capitalists, one thing is clear: **the means of production in Chile have not been turned over to the workers.**

CHILEAN BANKS

There were 24 private banks in Chile which the government plans to nationalize. The nationalization is being done gradually and was still not complete by the end of 1971. After he was elected, Allende offered to buy shares of private banks at their average for the first half of 1970, which was higher than the value at the time he made the offer.

THE BIG FOREIGN BANKS HAVE SOLD THEIR branches to Chile. Besides the U.S. banks, these include the Bank of L o n d o n and South A m e r i c a (BOLSA) and the German Dresdner Bank. These banks continue to play a role in Chile through loans floated to the government.

The domestic banks whose shares are bought by the government are not integrated into the Central

Bank, but retain their existing structures, according to Alfonso Inostroza, the president of the Central Bank. Apparently this means they are run by the same bankers, probably with government representation on the boards. The plan is also to put bank employees and depositors on the boards of directors as token representatives. In exchange for the stock, the government gives the previous owners government bonds at high interest.

CHILE'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS IMPERIALIST CAPITAL

Anti-imperialism is not anti-Americanism.—Sr. Almeyda, Foreign Minister of Chile (N.Y. Times, **Jan. 25, 1971)**

Ever since Allende took office, his government has been making overtures to the international banking community, and particularly the U.S. banks, assuring them that Chile wants their help in developing the economy. In February 1971, chairman of the Central Bank Inostroza met with Robert McNamara, chairman of the World Bank, and 40 U.S. bankers in New York. In his speech he said there is a role for U.S. banks financing Chile's foreign trade and extending loans for capital investment. The only restriction is that they may not open up deposit branches in Chile. At present, Chile owes $200 million to 44 U.S. banks.

Inostroza insisted Chile's policy towards foreign capital is no more radical than that of the Andean Pact, a Latin American common market consisting of Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. Their guidelines say foreign investment will be excluded from insurance, banking, advertising, television and radio. Foreign capital should be limited to 49% of any company, but a firm may take 15 years to sell the majority of its shares to the government (or private domestic investors). In return for cooperation with these guidelines, foreign firms receive tariff advantages. And Chile has already shown in the deals worked out with U.S. firms that economic control does not end with selling one's shares to the government.

ALSO SIGNIFICANT IS CHILE'S ATTITUDE TOwards the international finance agencies. There are two groups here: the U.S. agencies and the multinational ones. Chile has promised to pay its debt to all these organizations, and has made payments to the U.S. Export-Import Bank in October 1971. The U.S. groups are the Agency for International Development (AID) to which Chile owes $500 million, Food for Freedom to which Chile owes $202 million, and the Export-Import Bank which has $333 million in outstanding loans to Chile. That Chile has promised to pay back this $1 billion in U.S. aid is significant because it indicates Chile still wants U.S. "aid." No country ever erases its debt to the U.S.: but a token promise of repayment is needed to elicit more aid. (This year, economic aid from the U.S. amounts to $7 million in Food for Peace and technical assistance, as well as the military aid mentioned below.)

Obviously capital in these amounts is key to Chile, which ties the country fairly securely to the desires of U.S. imperialism. It is well-known how AID money has been used in Latin America to gain entry for U.S. business into domestic markets and labor supplies. For instance, the money has been used to build ports into which only American ships can enter, build railroads from the American-owned mine to the port, guarantee purchase of American made goods, and so on. Not only has Chile essentially asked for a continuation of these loans, but Allende has exposed himself as a total syncophant of U.S. imperialism by asking for an increase in the number of Peace Corps volunteers sent to Chile!

All this does not include U.S. military aid, which has totalled $131 million between 1946 and 1968, and which is continuing, as is shown, by the $5.85 million in military credits extended to Chile in July 1971, while Allende was in the process of expropriating the copper mines. In return, Chile has stayed in the U.S.-dominated Inter-American Defense Board. Chile also continues to lease eight U.S. naval vessels.

THE U.S. DID NOT, HOWEVER, TOTALLY IGnore the copper expropriations. The Export-Import Bank turned down a $21 million loan request from Chile for purchase of Boeing aircraft, in hopes of softening Allende's stand on the mines. The Chilean air force and commercial lines are all U.S. equipped, and it would be expensive for Chile to switch.

The multi-national finance agencies to which Allende has re-asserted his dependence and loyalty are the World Bank group, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). These groups are all dominated by U.S. imperialism, because the strength a country has on the board of directors is proportional to the amount of capital the country puts into the organization. The U.S., for instance, has contributed 75% of IDB's $2.3 billion loan fund.

Allende made a campaign promise to pull Chile out of IMF and the World Bank, but he has not done so. In March the Bank granted a $12 million loan to Chile for university expansion, and in May a loan of $11 million to develop the fruit and wine industries on a private basis. Chile has loans from the World Bank totalling over $250 million which have not been repaid.

THE IDB STATED IT WOULD CONTINUE TO lend money to Chile, and in October 1971 lent Chile $16 million for earthquake reconstruction. The IDB has 60 loans outstanding in Chile, for a total of $310 million. To illustrate Chile's ties to the organization, Felipe Herrera, the president of the bank for 10 years, resigned after Allende's election to return to Chile as a university professor. In January 1971, Chile made a $65 million contribution to the Bank. The IDB is also controlled by the U.S. and to a lesser extent the other big imperialists. Control is accomplished not only through the capital which various countries contribute to the bank's loan fund, but through the bonds the bank issues to private investors. For instance, in October 1970, the IDB floated a $100 million bond issue in the U.S. capital market. The Bank of Tokyo and Japan Export-Import Bank lent IDB $10 million in December 1970. And BOLSA, although it has sold its Chilean branches to the government, continues to exercise influence by floating loans to the IDB.

Altogether, including the debts to other capitalist countries which have not been discussed here (Germany, Italy, Canada, Britain and others) Chile has a foreign debt of $3 billion. This makes Chile the nation with the highest per capita national debt in the world, and Chile has promised to commit 40% of her export income over the next three years just to pay the interest due. Chile remains tied to the imperialist system through her dependence on imperialist capital.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PACTS, INDUSTRIAL CREDITS AND OTHER AID

Allende has signed scores of agreements with capitalist countries for technical assistance and loans to finance purchase of industrial equipment and build factories. This is another important way in which the world's capitalists maintain a foothold in the Chilean economy.

Japanese imperialists are jumping right in to help (themselves). They have granted Chile a loan of $56 million to develop an iron mine, and an $8 million credit for purchase of Japanese products. Mitsubishi is building a large merchant vessel for Chile, and a Japanese technical mission is helping Chile develop a salmon-breeding area. Japanese capital is also financing a factory for dry cell batteries. Chilean trade with Japan is $280 million a year and is rising 20% annually. Japanese trade with the five Andean Pact nations has a value of $800 million a year.

Many of the industrial projects Chile is cooperating on with U.S. capital have been mentioned. In addition, Food Machinery Corporation has signed a contract to build a food plant in Chile, and negotiations are going on with General Tire Co for a joint tire venture with the Chilean government.

The Western European countries have pitched in to "help." Financial credits worth $300 million have been extended to Allende from Spain, France, Switzerland and Britain. Fascist Spain is building a ship for Chile (for $1.5 million) and the two countries have signed a technical assistance pact. French auto companies are bidding for the opportunity to be joint partners with Chile in three new auto plants, and Peugeot and Renault have already been authorized by the government to invest $2.2 million. Italian Fiat is selling auto parts to Chile to equip the plant which Ford abandoned.

IN ADDITION, JAPAN'S NISSAN, CZECHOSLOvakia's Skoda, Britain's Leyland Motors, Sweden's Volvo, Germany's Mercedes, Spain's Pegaso and Yugoslavia's Fab-Famus are tendering bids for the joint auto venture. A private Italian group is investing $15 million in a thermo-electric power plant. A Belgian commercial mission went to Chile to study the feasibility of building an industrial park, and a consortium of Belgian banks has loaned Chile $150 million. The Netherlands Investment Bank for the Developing Countries has arranged to send Chile some cattle. West Germany sunk $.5 million into a road-building study.

A consortium of British banks is financing Chile's purchase of $10 million of British machinery, and the British Exports Credits Guarantee Department has informed Chile it is ready to finance new projects there. In addition, Britain is advising Chile on subway construction. British interests are also investing $40 million for construction of a petrochemicals plant. Denmark is financing construction of a dairy processing plant and is selling marine parts to Chile. And Germany, France, Belgium Denmark, the Netherlands and Sweden are chipping in $15 million to build an observatory.

Chile's trade mission to Eastern Europe netted $130 million in credits. This includes a $20 million credit from Hungary's ruling class for the construction of aluminum, drug and copper-processing plants. Hungary also granted $5 million in credits for purchase of Hungarian machinery, and is sending a petroleum prospecting crew to Chile. Bulgaria's rulers are granting Chile $20 million in credits for industrial projects, and a $15 million loan to develop the health sector. Czechoslovakia extended a $5 million loan, Poland a $10 million credit for purchase of machinery and Yugoslavia is setting up a direct sea link with Chile. Romania granted a $20 million credit for construction of phosphate fertilizer and aluminum plants.

The Soviet Union is granting Chile a $55 million credit for the purchase of road-building and other equipment. Chile and Russia have signed a cultural-scientific exchange pact. Russia will also help Chile find petroleum deposits, send a technical mission to the copper mines, aid in setting up a pre-fabricated housing plant, and help develop the fishing industry.

It appears as if Chile's main links are to the Western capitalist world, including Japan, with secondary links to the Soviet and Eastern European capitalists. Russia does not give military aid to Chile, as does the U.S. And Chilean diplomats and bankers spend their time in Washington and New York courting U.S. bankers, and not in Moscow.

Revolutionary students march in protest of the killing of a student in Concepcion (May 12, 1972) under the order of the sellout CP during an anti-fascist march.

Summary of Known Aid Received by Allende's Government in First Year

	Loans and Credits	Cooperative ventures, pacts, and other
USA	$13 million	military, food, copper processing, electronics, chemicals, galvanizing, tires, food processing, naval vessels, banking
Japan	$64 million	iron mining, ship building, salmon breeding, dry cell factory, autos
Britain	$50 million	autos, machinery, construction, chemicals, banking
Belgium	$150 million	industrial construction
France	$2.2 million	autos
Germany	$ .5 million	autos, road construction
Italy	$15 million	autos, power plant
Spain	$1.5 million	autos, ship building, assistance pact
Other W. Europe	$80 million	observatory, autos, agriculture, shipbuilding
USSR	$55 million	road building, petroleum, copper, pre-fab housing, assistance pact
Hungary	$25 million	aluminum, drugs, copper-processing, petroleum, machinery
Bulgaria	$35 million	industrial, health
Czech.	$ 5 million	
Poland	$10 million	industrial machinery
Yugoslavia		sea link
Romania	$20 million	fertilizer, aluminum
World Bank	$23 million	fruit and wine industry, university expansion
IDB	$16 million	earthquake damage
TOTAL	$500 million	

HOW ALLENDE MAINTAINS CAPITALISM IN CHILE

To summarize, Chile is still run by capitalists through:

1) joint ownership of Chilean industry by the U.S. and Chile and other imperialist big business;

2) control of Chilean investment and trade practices through dependence on the U.S.-dominated international finance agencies (IMF, World Bank, IDB);

3) acceptance of U.S. military and economic aid;

4) relying on U.S., Belgian, British, Japanese and other European and Soviet bloc banks for capital;

5) dependence on the technologies and products of imperialism through technical assistance pacts and other non-financial "aid;"

6) making Chile into a captive market for the big imperialist powers by relying on capital credits, and contracting out marketing and machinery purchasing to imperialist firms (eg., RCA, Cerro);

7) interlocking directorates of Chilean corporations, allowing the capitalists to continue dictating policy through their pervasive control of the economy even though a few big firms are nationalized;

8) the strength of the private sector in CORFO, the national economic development corporation, and the continued direct control over nationalized corporations by commissions consisting of the capitalists who "used to" own them.

WHERE DOES NATIONALIZATION ENTER THIS picture? Nationalization is not an "island of socialism" in an otherwise capitalist Chile—it is a way of rationalizing capitalism. This is accomplished in a number of ways, possibly the main one being strike control. A so-called socialist government can call on the workers not to strike nationalized industries "in the interest of the people." It can also introduce speed-up and crack down on absenteeism using the same excuse, and can get the sell-out union leaders and "Communist" Party to actively propagandize for these policies.

In fact, Allende's policy has been to "intervene" (nationalize) companies which cannot control their workers. One of his first nationalizations was of the nation's largest fabric company, whose workers were on strike for wages. Other textile firms having "labor troubles" were later "intervened." That workers will have representatives on boards of directors means nothing. Much more significant is the creation of Vigilante Committees (!) of workers to "report" on production, quality and **absenteeism.**

A second way nationalization makes capitalism more efficient is in agriculture, through the land reform program. Small and medium farmers will not be touched, but will be extended credits and guaranteed markets for their produce. The land reform law, passed under Frei, declares that all large holdings must be nationalized, but Frei succeeded in nationalizing slowly and ineffectively. Allende has pledged to speed up the process, always doing it legally, but he has also declared that the farms which are efficiently utilized need not worry!

The purpose of the nationalization is not to end capitalism in the countryside but to end "insufficient capitalism" in the countryside: namely, to nationalize only the huge landed estates owned by aristocrats who do not farm them adequately. Chilean agricultural production has grown only 2% a year for the last 30 years; $200 million in foodstuffs had to be imported in 1970. Under the expropriation, a 5% growth rate is aimed for in agriculture. The basis of agriculture will remain the private, mostly large farmer.

THE THIRD WAY NATIONALIZATION HELPS capitalism is by acting as a government subsidy to unprofitable but necessary industry. Some examples from this country illustrate the point. Public transit systems in the U.S. are nationalized because they are necessary, but they cannot be run profitably on fares which people can afford, and still pay the mammoth interest owed to the banks. Hence, they are run by "publicly-appointed" boards of directors consisting of bankers and businessmen who propose bond issues to finance the transit system. When the bonds pass, their banks float the bonds and get the interest, and characteristically fare increases just go to pay off the interest on the bonds!

So the "nationalized" New York subway system subsidizes Chase Manhattan Bank. Penn Central is the latest, most dramatic example in the U.S. of how the government will nationalize a corporation which is not profitable for the capitalists to maintain, then will float loans from those same banker-capitalists to maintain the corporation "publicly." This type of nationalization takes place where huge capital expenditures are needed to replace obsolete equipment, such as in transportation, steel and the utilities industry.

This effect of nationalization in Chile is more subtle since the biggest bank is not directly owned by capitalists. However, the thorough control which the capitalists still have of the economy through sitting on the commissions and boards which run the government and the corporations, as well as the indirect but strong control of international capitalism, is enough to guarantee that nationalized corporations are run to maximum profits and pander to imperialism, **not to serve the working class.** Furthermore, the only companies which have to worry about this formal change in status to public ownership are the firms which are inefficiently run or cannot control their workers.

THE UNIDAD POPULAR AND THE ROLE OF THE "COMMUNIST" PARTY

We want the workers with us, but they must not be allowed to go beyond the government line. (Communist Party of Chile, from the Economist **April '71)**

The popular front which brought Allende to power is a coalition of six parties led by the Socialist Party of Allende and the Communist Party (CP). These two parties were each awarded three cabinet posts: finance, public works and labor went to the CP. (The other four parties share seven positions.) Allende's victory is a victory for the CP's strategy of taking power in popular front governments, and is a culmination of its work in Chile over the last thirty-five years.

Once before Chile had a popular front government, from 1938 to 1941. The twenties and thirties

was a period of great labor struggle in Chile; in 1936, the army brutally suppressed a railroad strike and took over the railroads. The CP built its popularity among the workers through its leadership in this and other strikes, and in 1938 a coalition government consisting of Communists, Socialists and Radicals was elected.

An incident occurring around the election shows how the Chilean ruling class saw it could use the CP, **even in 1938,** to control the workers. On the eve of the election, the fascist party in Chile tried to stage a coup because it was afraid the Communists would win the election. Rather than letting the coup succeed, the government then in power (analogous to the Christian Democrats of today) bloodily suppressed it, paving the way for the election of the popular front!

Once voted in, the CP did not take any cabinet posts so as not to "embarass" the government, but worked "behind the scenes." The government had a New Deal program of social legislation which was a little more complete than the previous administration's, but its main innovation was the setting up of a Chilean Development Corporation to finance industry and agriculture, which later became CARFO. This government corporation "owned" half of the concerns it financed (like TVA in the U.S.) and its main financing ($22 million) came from none other than the U.S. Export Import Bank! Leave it to the popular front to set up government subsidies for capitalism. (Allende even boasts that it was during this popular front period that the first Chilean cardinal in the Catholic church was nominated!)

THE WORKERS DID NOT SEEM TO "UNDERstand" the government was in their hands. During the regime there were 71 strikes involving 30,000 workers, half of which were considered illegal. Due to its inability to control the workers, faction fights developed in the front, and it dissolved in 1941.

Again in 1946 the CP supported the bourgeois Radical Party in winning an electoral victory and a coalition government was formed with the participation of the CP and the socialists. (Allende served as a cabinet minister in this government.) At the time, the leaders of the CP went so far as to describe this government as a "people's democratic government." But in less than a year the bourgeoisie compelled the CP to quit the government, carried out mass arrests of communists and in 1948 outlawed the Communist Party of Chile. Subsequently, the CP "won" back its legality, rebuilt its electoral apparatus and eventually got in position to form yet a third popular front government in 1970. ("Those who will not learn from history are doomed to repeat it.") (For a discussion of other popular front governments and how they have failed to help the people, see **PL** magazine, Vol. 8, No. 3)

Today the main function of the CP in the Unidad Popular is to **win the workers to work harder and not to strike.** This makes sense when one realizes the CP is not run by rank-and-file workers, but by an assortment of rich professionals, small businessmen and sellout labor leaders. Pablo Neruda, the wealthy poet, who lives in a secluded mansion with plenty of domestic help, is a CP member, and is now the Ambassador to France. (He was also just awarded the highest honor international capitalism bestows on intellectuals, the Nobel prize.)

Another more typical example, described in the **New York Times** (October 17, 1971), is a small businessman, a manufacturer of handbags, who employs 20 workers and pays them piece rate. "There is no contradiction between my being a small capitalist and a member of the Party," he says. "I've been living in a capitalist society. If I refused to operate a factory what could I do? Go be a worker myself? That's an individual solution, not a collective one. I worked with the Party to change the society against my personal interests." One wonders what he and his comrades will do when his employees go on strike to smash the piece-rate speed-up system.

THE ROLE OF THE CP AND THE UNION LEADers in saving capitalism in Chile is best illustrated by this quote from Sigifredo Carrasco, the president of the mine workers union at the Chuquicamata copper mine, the strongest union in the biggest industry in the country. Carrasco is not in the CP, but calls himself a Marxist-Leninist and belongs to a group called the Popular Socialist Union. He says:

This period of change over to national ownership is a difficult time for Chile and the union leadership feels it is necessary to give full support to the government. But there is a moral responsibility to be with the workers when they want more pay and better conditions and you can't do justice to both.

For me and the other union leaders, it's an almost impossible situation. It might cause the fall of the union leadership before the next union election which is scheduled for February 1973.

For years union leaders have been leading workers in the fight for better salaries and conditions. When the North American company, Anaconda, owned it we had no other responsibility. This is a rich mine. Anaconda was a rich company and we knew they could afford to give more.

Now the situation has changed. The mines belong to Chile and all its people and so do the profits. We have a new responsibility. But the worker doesn't understand this. We have groups of workers here who believe that whatever they demanded of an American company they can still demand of the government.

They don't understand what we are trying to do. When the union leadership tries to slow down demands they become the enemy as far as the worker is concerned.

The union leaders have to fight on both sides. We battle with the government to improve the salaries and conditions and we battle with the workers to try to get them to understand the new situation. (S.F. Chronicle, *December 1971)*

APPARENTLY MR. CARRASCO HAS NOT BEEN successful, for the miners recently rejected a 22% wage increase from the government and at this writing (December 1971) are threatening to go on strike if the government does not meet their demands, which include a 32% wage increase to keep up with Chile's severe inflation.

CONCLUSION

Not only all the old institutions but also all the non-socialist forces in Chile remain intact. (Problems of Communism, a U.S. State Dept. publication, June 1971)

The working class and its allies in many countries are becoming too class conscious and fighting back too hard to be controlled effectively by openly reactionary governments. The era of colonialism gave way to the era of nationalist puppet governments, and now a form of "legal, socialist" governments is evolving as a more subtle way for capitalists to maintain power. They go a step further than the New Deal regime where the CP stayed behind the scenes: here, the CP and other "Marxist" parties are openly paraded as representatives of the workers in the government.

It is apparent, from what has been presented here, that socialism was not voted in, in Chile. The example of Chile also goes to show that socialism **can never be elected peacefully.** For an election **does not destroy the ruling class and its ideology, and that class will not dissolve itself by legal decree.**

Allende has not tried to tamper with the ruling class or its institutions. A member of the Chilean ruling class remarked, "As long as he leaves us our liberties, our free press and right of opposition, we are not going to initiate a fight. But if he takes illegal steps, then I think we are morally entitled to oppose him." (**New York Times,** Oct. 17, 1971) (This particular capitalist is hopeful that his farm and factory will not be nationalized since he has "good" labor relations and is operating both at full capacity.)

WHETHER ALLENDE STAYS OR GOES DEpends on his ability to control the workers, and the fight over tactics in the Chilean and international ruling class on the best way to run a country with a militant workers' movement. When Allende was elected, he was popular with many factions of the Chilean ruling class. Not only did the Christian Democrats and Alessandri, the moderate conservative, throw their parties' votes to Allende in the Congressional election, but Sergio Jarpu of the extreme right-wing Nationalist Party remarked, "We're not prejudiced about what the new government is going to do. If it's good for the country, we'll go along with it even if it has a socialist "label."

Whether a country is socialist or capitalist is a **political question.** It is a question of which class holds power, the workers or the bosses. If socialism could be established by piece-meal nationalizations, then the Post Office, the New York subway system, and the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) would rate as the advanced guard of socialism in the U.S. The postal workers, transit workers and workers at the AEC Hanford works are well aware that **it is the bosses and not the workers who are in control.** The bosses never share power with the workers; they don't on an individual factory level and they certainly don't when the whole economy is at stake.

To establish socialism the workers must control everything, (1) the entire economy—finance, transportation, marketing, as well as manufacturing and mining; (2) the entire cultural apparatus—schools, the mass media, entertainment industry; and, as prerequisite of the above, (3) the political apparatus which has as its core the armed forces.

IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, IT IS THROUGH armed force that one class maintains its rule over the other. Destruction of the capitalists' armed dictatorship and replacing it with the workers' armed dictatorship over capitalism is the central task in establishing socialism.

The only way socialism can come to power is by violent revolution. Without this revolutionary civil war a few superficial changes may take place in the way a country is run, but the workers will not take power and "revolution" becomes, **at best**, a coup where a small group of benevolent leaders takes the place of a small group of malicious ones. Sooner or later the coup bends to pressure of one or another of the imperialists since, political apparatus typified by the conscious socialist base among the armed workers is necessary to hold out against the imperialist blackmail. Allende is not even a candidate for this type of coup, as he made no pretense from the start of destroying the capitalist institutions and ideology.

Whether they are conscious of this fact or not, Allende and his group **cannot establish socialism.** What they have done is to put forward a pretty face with which to cover up the ugly capitalist dictatorship, and secondly to change certain financial relationships within this capitalist framework (in all cases to the **detriment** of the workers and to the further **enrichment** of the capitalists). We in the Progressive Labor Party further maintain that it is impossible to vote in socialism **in any situation.** (This argument is beyond the scope of this article which deals with the particular situation in Chile; we refer the reader to Karl Marx **Civil War in France;** V.I. Lenin, **State and Revolution;** "Road to Revolution II, **PL** V. 5 **#6,** and "Road to Revolution III," **PL** V. 8, **#3;** where this argument is made.)

In the end Allende and his "peaceful road to socialism" will be tossed into the garbage can of history by the Chilean workers.

ALLENDE'S RACISM

In Chile, the main racism is directed against the Mapuche Indians who are mostly landless rural workers, and were leaders of the rural rebellions. The Mapuches are the poorest, most exploited people in Chile, and are not even granted the usual bourgeois liberties under Chilean laws: for instance, they cannot enter into contractual agreements. In an interview with Saul Landau, Allende said the "problem of the Mapuche" is not an overriding one. He says their situation cannot be changed overnight, but must change gradually over many years. And then Allende sends doctors, anthropologists and sociologists to find out "why" the Mapuches are so antagonistic to his regime. Small wonder—much as the Ford Foundation sends research teams into the black ghettos in this country!

Police attack leftist demonstrators in Concepcion. A student was killed by the cops - who was called by govenor Chavez - a member of the revisionist C.P.

CONCEPCION CHILE, MAY 12—The Christian-Democratic Party and other right-wing groups asked for a permit to hold a fascist march. It was granted by Governor Vladimir Chavez (a member of the pro-Moscow Chilean Communist Party. Left-wing groups, headed by the Revolutionary Left-wing Movement (MIR) asked for a permit to hold a counter-demonstration that same day. (MIR is a loose, unaffiliated group that says only an armed worker-peasant revolution can bring socialism to Chile. At the same time it supports any "progressive" acts of the Allende government and opposes "reactionary" ones.)

The Governor denied a permit to the left-wing groups. After a lot of protest, he revoked the permit for the fascists, also, but they went ahead and held their march, anyway.

The left-wing groups, along with textile, coal miner and other unions, and the Provincial Council of Peasants, called a counter-demonstration. A police mobile group was called out by the Governor to attack the left-wingers and trade unionists, not the fascists, resulting in the murder of Eladio Caamano, a 17-year-old student, and injury to 40 others.

LAUTARO, CHILE, MAY 16— About 100 peasants were attacked by Carabineros (anti-riot cops); two were injured critically by police bullets. They were trying to deliver a protest note to the local hospital about the bad medical care, especially for women and children. The peasants blamed the governor of Lautaro, Alfonso Neira, a member of the "Communist" Party.

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"I've always felt at ease with party leaders myself and I think they'll find me compatible.... I think I've got the skill and the common sense to quiet the fears of these people and bring them on board at some point...

"Some of the more rigid purists in my camp don't even want me talk to those people (Democratic congressional leaders and labor bureaucrats like George Meany). But they're just going to have to take me on my own terms. They've got to understand that I'm a politician and if I'm going to be the leader of this country, I've got to have communication with all segments of the country."

—McGovern interview,
LA Times 4/28/72

Who Governs McGovern?

The experiences of the past decade have convinced millions of working people and students that the "official" view of U.S. society as "free and equal" is a Big Lie designed to hide the true character of the capitalist system. The facts of life have time and again exposed U.S. rulers as international imperialists and domestic racists and exploiters.

The system has been most clearly laid bare by its own war of aggression against the Vietnamese people. As Vietnamese workers, farmers, and students rebelled in the 1960's with increasing ferocity against the presence of U.S. imperialism in their country, U.S. rulers **unanimously** agreed to crush this rebellion with as much armed force as necessary. Despite the pious demagoguery of every U.S. president from Kennedy to Johnson to Nixon about "the struggle to protect freedom and democracy in Southeast Asia" or the "moral obligation to defend a weak ally against 'foreign' aggression," millions of Americans came to see the war as a profit-making venture for the rich. Rebellions against ROTC and war research exploded on thousands of campuses. Time and again workers struck in defiance of presidential pleas to defend the "national interest." The imperialists couldn't even induce "their" own army to fight consistently for them. On the front lines, thousands of working class soldiers refused to fight; many shot their officers—and mass rebellions against the brass broke out on base after base on Vietnam, Germany, and elsewhere.

Meanwhile, a massive movement of black working people and students was gaining strength against unemployment, bad housing, police harassment, on-the-job discrimination, and other forms of racism. For decades, schools and the media had presented a picture of black people as cheerfully stoic; poor but complacent; "happy with their lot." Black rebellions in Harlem, Watts, Newark, Detroit and elsewhere, rebellions that involved hundreds of thousands in direct, violent clashes with police, national guard, and, in some cases, the army—proved that this view was yet another Big Lie. Not only were black people—especially black workers—dissatisfied with their conditions, but many were ready, willing, and able to help smash the system responsible for their oppression. The struggle of black workers reached new heights at Attica when thousands overcame incalculable odds to hold the entire capitalist state apparatus at bay for nearly a week. The class unity of black, white, and Latin American prisoners inspired millions—while the unabashed viciousness of Rockefeller's represion further served to expose U. S. rulers as racist butchers.

The struggle of black people against racism helped lead a broader upsurge of rebelliousness among the U.S. working class in general. As wage gains were eaten up by higher taxes, higher rents, and higher prices; as job in-security increased; as speed-up intensified, millions of workers walked off the job. Many of these strikes were wildcats, actions taken in defiance of the "official" union leadership. Some of the largest strikes brought workers into direct confrontation with the government, as in the case of the 1967 Newport News shipbuilding strike or the 1970 postal strike. As U.S. rulers began to feel the pressure, they saw they had to intervene more forcefully to reassert control over "their" working class. They could no longer trust Meany, Bridges, Woodcock, and other union czars to keep rebellious workers in line. The bosses decided to break the strike wave at all costs. Nixon's wage-freeze is the public expression of this decision. According to government propaganda, wages and prices are frozen, again, in the "national interest." In reality, however, as every worker knows, prices have skyrocketed; rents have gone up—and **wages have actually been rolled back.** Meanwhile, major companies like AT&T or General Motors gloat publicly in the pages of the Wall Street **Journal** that profits are near or even above a historic high-water mark.

Finally, millions of U.S. workers and students have been profoundly influenced by revolutionary struggle around the world. Tremendous battles waged by the Vietnamese people proved that the imperialists could be defeated. The fight for socialism in China, especially during the period of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, proved that the ability to over-

throw the profit system of exploitation was within the grasp of oppressed people everywhere. The worker-student rebellion and general strike of May 1968 in France proved that the need for mass struggle against the exploiters—and the possibility of waging it—were just as great in the advanced industrial countries as in the less developed nations.

All these developments and others have helped move the outlook of millions of U.S. workers and students in an increasingly leftward direction. The term "revolution" is now so widespread a part of mass consciousness that the rulers have been forced to co-opt it to describe everything from slave labor schemes to the virtues of a brand of toothpaste.

Under normal conditions, U.S. rulers hold political power by perpetuating the illusion that the two-party system offers a viable choice between different policies and programs. In school we are taught that the Republican party has historically been the rallying-point for the super-rich and affluent, and that it has stood for "free enterprise" and minimal government intervention in the economy. On the other hand, we are also taught that the Democratic party stands for "social change," progress and the rights of the oppressed: we are encouraged to support it as the party of the working class.

The thrust of this pamphlet will contain an attack on this view of the Democratic party and, particularly, on the candidacy of George McGovern. We want to make clear at the outset that we don't think Nixon and the Republicans are any better. They have frozen wages, broken strikes, laid off millions, cut back on welfare , intensified the bombing in Vietnam, increased police terror at home, and encouraged unbridled racism in the curriculum of schools and universities. But Nixon and the Republicans make no bones about representing the rich. Nixon may well speak of "fellow Americans" pulling together in a common cause: but by now most workers and students have few illusions about which class of people the Republican party serves. The point is that we in PLP believe that McGovern or **any** Democratic nominee **will also act in fundamental opposition to the interests of workers and oppressed people if elected to the presidency.** We believe they are doing so now and have done so in the past. Furthermore, we believe the "lesser evil theory" to be invalid: we are convinced the facts prove McGovern and the Democrats to be **just as bad** as the Republicans. We feel a thorough discussion of the truth about McGovern and the Democrats is vital at this time precisely because they are attempting to emerge in the public eye as the political leadership

"If you're interested, Senator, we could begin grooming you as a lesser evil."

of the working class.

By the 1968 presidential election, the Democratic party was in deep trouble. Its image had been badly tarnished. When the anti-war movement began to grow in strength, U.S. rulers saw that something had to be done to bring millions of rebellious student demonstrators and youth back into the fold. The candidacy of Eugene McCarthy was designed explicitly for this purpose. On November 17, 1967, McCarthy told the Wall Street Journal:

> *"There is deep anxiety and alinenation among large numbers of people so we have demonstrations and draft-card burning and all the rest. Someone must give these groups entrance back into the political process. We may lose, but at least in the process of fighting within the political framework, we'll have reduced the alienation. This is absolutely vital."*

Thousands of the most militant, dedicated opponents of the war worked day and night for McCarthy because they believed the success of his candidacy was the best way to get the U.S. out of Vietnam. These were many of the same people who had so courageously led campus strikes, sit-ins, and demonstrations against ROTC, imperialist research, and war recruiters.

But U.S. rulers decided not to give McCarthy the nomination. Furthermore, his supporters at the 1968 Democratic convention were treated with police brutality that shocked millions around the country—most of whom wanted the U.S. out of Vietnam.

The 1968 Democratic convention convinced most of McCarthy's supporters—and nearly everyone else, for that matter—that there wasn't much room for dissent inside the Democratic party. Thousands turned away in disgust from the Great McCarthy Hoax. Millions became more skeptical about the possibility of ending oppression and war by voting the oppressors and war-makers out of power.

Top Democrats and others understood that this skepticism was fraught with dangers for the Democratic party and the system as a whole. They saw that something had to be done to rehabilitate the electoral process in the eyes of the many workers and students who had come to view it as a fraud. Democratic bigwigs met (Harpers, Jan 1970) to see what could be done to restore faith in their organization. The meetings included not only liberals like McCarthy and McGovern but also Humphrey, the representative of the party establishment, who—as everyone knew—owed his 1968 nomination to "traitional" back-room wheeling and dealing. These top Democrats saw themselves in a do-or-die situation. Accordingly, they mapped out a plan of internal reform (under McGovern's leadership) that ostensibly created an "open, grass-roots" caucus system for electing delegates to the 1972 Miami convention.

As of this writing (June 1972), McGovern appears to be the clear front-runner for the Democratic nomination. However, whether he wins or loses the nomination and whether he wins or loses the presidency in the fall, he and the Democrats have partially succeeded in attracting many students, young people, and workers who are fed up with the system, fed up with the war, racism, unemployment, the wage freeze, police terror, and boss rule—and who want fundamental changes in the society.

Many of the people now working in McGovern offices, canvassing for McGovern, and stumping for McGovern in various primaries are the same people who attacked ROTC buildings in 1967, fought police at the Democratic convention in 1968, demonstrated in Washington in 1970, and again manned militant picket lines in April and May of 1972, when Nixon escalated the bombing of north and south Vietnam and mined north Vietnamese harbors.

As in the case of McCarthy four years ago, McGovern's candidacy has been explicitly designed to reverse this militancy and curb mass protest. When Nixon mined Haiphong, McGovern immediately urged his supporters not to react "in blind fury and damaging demonstrations." Instead, he called for electoral work for a "new agenda" in 1972. In other words, "vote for me and everything will be OK." On May 4, 1972, R.W. Appel of the New York **Times** pulled the cat a bit further out of McGovern's bag when he wrote:

> *The goal of the American political system is to contain protest and rage within the electoral process thus keeping it from bursting into the streets as revolution. The goal of the parties is to provide a vehicle for such protest, and the Democratic reform rules, designed in large part by Mr. McGovern, were brought into being by the exclusion of a large part of the anti-war movement from the convention of 1968.*

The Progressive Labor Party is issuing this pamphlet now because we believe that mass action of the type described above and the millions of workers and students who carry it out provide the only real alternative for changing and ultimately ending the evils in our society. We too are fed up with the war, racism, the wage freeze, and oppression—but we are convinced that McGovern will do **nothing** to change these things, that his candidacy serves specifically to create the appearance of change without the reality, and that the movement to build his campaign is deliberately being pushed by U.S. rulers to divert the energies of workers and students down a dead-en street and prevent us from attacking and eventually overthrowing the system responsible for the misery of billions.

Instead of another politician bankrolled by bosses and puffed up with empty promises, we propose an independent alliance of workers, students, GIs, welfare clients, professionals, and others united in the understanding that true power lies in the hands of the working class and that true liberation can come only when all bosses have been overthrown.

We and many others are now actively involved in fighting for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, supporting strikes and other actions against the wage freeze, organizing against Jensen, Herrnstein, and other representatives of neo-nazi racism on campus, building tenants' unions for better housing—and many other campaigns. As communists, we believe that ultimately we need a revolution led by workers if we are to build a decent society with no wars, no racism, and true democracy for masses of oppressed people. We hope after reading this pamphlet you will want to know more about some of our ideas and that you will think again about whether George McGovern and the Democratic party can solve our problems.

MCGOVERN, THE LIBERALS, AND THE WAR

By now, every major U.S. politician with the hope of winning an election has come out with a program for finishing the war in Vietnam. In 1968, Nixon won the presidency largely on his promise that he had a "secret plan" to end the war. Humphrey was forced to pretend he had never spent four years as the Vice-Presidential court jester for the Johnson administration's bloody record in Vietnam. George Wallace said that he "prayed" for the success of the Paris negotiations. Even today,

What campaigns like McGovern's tries to contain and prevent

as Nixon increases the bombings and minings, he continues troop withdrawals.

George McGovern has ridden to fame largely on the claim that, whereas other politicians opportunistically began opposing the war only when they saw that most people wanted the U.S. out of Vietnam immediately, he took an anti-war position from the very beginning. His campaign literature boasts that "He's been right from the start."

On the most elementary factual level, McGovern is a liar. His campaign literature extols him for **consistent** opposition to the war from 1963. Yet in October, 1965, he made the following speech:

> *We crossed the bridge a long time ago in Vietnam. It's too late to turn back now. Our nation has decided that we must stay and fight to stop the Communists from taking over. We have a commitment and we must stay there until the dispute is resolved. (Robert Anson, McGovern, p. 161)*

In the summer of 1964, the Johnson-Goldwater campaign shaped up apparent as a debate between a "sensible" Democrat who wanted at all costs to prevent a massive land war by U.S. troops in southeast Asia and a "warmongering" Republican who wanted to "bomb the Communists back to the Stone Age" and send hundreds of thousands of soldiers to invade Vietnam. Then in August, LBJ went on national television to make an "emergency" presidential address. The north Vietnamese had fired on U.S. ships in the Gulf of Tonkin, he said. This incident posed a "grave threat to national security." He had given orders for immediate retaliation and was asking the Congress to pass legislation that would give him **carte blanche** to take whatever further military steps he deemed necessary. (Subsequent disclosures revealed the "Tonkin" incident to have been a deliberate provocation engineered by the U.S. government in order to justify escalation.) This legislation came to be known as the "Gulf of Tonkin resolution." It passed overwhelmingly in the Senate and House. It gave LBJ legal cover to send hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops to Vietnam and to launch the greatest aerial bombing attacks in the history of warfare.

George McGovern voted for **the Gulf of Tonkin resolution—as did Eugene McCarthy.**

He now claims he was "deceived," and that he voted in error. His campaign literature plays down this "error."

However, three years later, in 1967—as anti-war demonstrations began to involve hundreds of thousands—McGovern voted against **repealing the resolution. The same year, he voted** against **a resolution prohibiting the assignment of draftees to southeast Asia without their consent.**

McGovern initially attracted national attention as an anti-war spokesman when he co-sponsored the Hatfield-McGovern amendment calling for a deadline to be set for total troop withdrawal. He hoped in this way to divert thousands away from mass action and into petition-gathering. As the amendment was voted down in September 1971, McGovern praised his work to his Senate colleagues:

> *It helped to keep the nation from exploding this summer. It was the lodestar that inspired more mail, more telegrams, more eager young visitors to our offices . . . than any other initiative of Congress in this summer of discontent.*
>
> *To demonstrate is an easy thing. It is much harder to stay at home and work quietly for peace. (Anson, p. 174)*

Not that McGovern opposes the maintenance of a strong U.S. military machine. On September 23, 1971, he said: "My friends,

this is a dangerous world, and we need strong armed services with strong morale." He adds that he "vigorously supports" the U.S. comitment to NATO for the "defense" of western Europe and that he "subscribes" to the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (San Francisco **Examiner**, 5-7-72).

In keeping with his support for "strong armed services," McGovern has consistently voted Yes to military appropriations for the war in Vietnam and the Thieu regime, for imperialist governments like Israel and fascist states like Haiti, Spain, and Iran that "happen" to be allied with the U.S. government.

Even McGovern's campaign literature bases its arguments about defense reduction on the claim that present defense spending is "excessive"—not that U.S. imperialism is bad:

> *(The McGovern) program includes . . . cutting back on wasteful programs like the B-1 bomber and Titan missile (which would be outdated by the time they're produced), and letting Europe assume more of the costs of its own defense. (McGovern leaflet)*

Beyond McGovern's obvious lies, half-truths, and demagogic posturing, another question must be raised. Many people will say: "All right. We know he's a politician. We know politicians are fundamentally out for themselves and that they adopt positions in keeping with political expediency. But McGovern's expediency happens at this time to coincide more closely than other politicians' with the anti-war position held by the majority of people in the U.S. McGovern may not be perfect, but he's not as bad as the others on the question of Vietnam. At least he'll pull us out."

But will he? Is the faster troop withdrawal favored by McGovern—and we admit that he favors it—really the same as getting the U.S. out of Vietnam? In order to answer that question, we should first look into the fundamental nature of U.S. foreign policy in Vietnam and elsewhere.

Two contradictory lines of reasoning are offered to explain why the U.S. became involved in the Vietnam war in the first place. On the one hand, liberal politicians like McGovern and Fullbright before him tell us that the war was the result of blundering, tragic mistakes, and narrow-minded conservatism. On the other hand, the facts of life and the daily experiences of hundreds of millions of people show that the war is an integral part of a world-wide strategy of U.S. imperialism, a strategy vital to the survival of the private profit system in the United States.

For decades, U.S. foreign policy has been based on the need to protect and expand the interests of major U.S. corporations and banks. Put another way, U.S. foreign policy has consistently served to oppose any movement that threatens the economic interests of U.S. big businessmen and bankers.

> *In Guatemala in 1954, the nationalist Arbenz government raised the minimum wage from 26 cents to $1.08 a DAY, and started a mild land reform that included the expropriation of 243,000 acres of uncultivated land from the United Fruit Company.*
> *President Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles had the C.I.A. organize, train, and equip an invasion force that succeeded in toppling the Arbenz government and replaced it with a pro-U.S. dictatorship that halted land reform, returned the expropriated land to the United Fruit Company, disenfranchised 70 percent of the population, smashed trade unions, slashed wages, and abolished taxes on the profits of foreign investors. (See N.Y. Times, 4-28-66, for verification of C.I.A.'s role).*

> *In Iran in 1951, the government of Premier Mossadegh nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. A U.S.-directed coup overthrew Mossadegh. Iran's highly profitable oil was turned over to a four-nation consortium. The U.S. share was 40 percent. (David Horowitz, Free World Colossus, P. 187 ff).*

> *On July 15, 1958, ten thousand U.S. marines landed in Lebanon with two assignments: First, to crush the rebellion against the overwhelmingly unpopular President Chamoun, a rebellion which the London Sunday Times labelled a "calculated defiance of authority by at least half the population." Second, to reverse a massively supported coup by Kassem in Iraq. The U.S. made clear that any action against Western oil interests in Iraq could lead to a joint U.S.-British invasion. (Horowitz, P. 192).*

The list of examples could go on indefinitely. For instance, the history of 20th Century Latin America is filled with U.S. bribes, threats, and invasions aimed at defeating revolution. Why did the U.S. invade the Dominican Republic in 1965? Why did JFK organize the Bay of Pigs invasion against Cuba in 1961?

Three facts emerge with absolute clarity from all the politicians' gobbledygook and demagoguery. First, U.S. business **needs** to control the labor power and markets of the so-called "underdeveloped" countries. Second, U.S. business **needs** to crush any mass movement that threatens its long or short run interests—even if the movement is basically capitalist-oriented. Third, U.S. business **needs** to destroy mass revolutionary upsurge for socialism wherever it occurs.

No major U.S. politician—least of all McGovern—disputes the strategic implications of these three facts. McGovern is as well aware of the economic facts of life as anybody in Washington. He knows that:

> *Late in the 1950s—and with the increasing speed through the 1950s and up to the present . . . In industry after industry U.S. companies found that their overseas earnings were soaring, and that their return on investment abroad was frequently much higher than in the U.S. As earnings (abroad) began to rise, profit margins from domestic operations started to shrink; costs in the U.S. climbed faster than prices, competition stiffened as markets neared their saturation points. (Business Week, 4-20-63, p. 70)*

After World War II, the so-called "developed" areas of Europe, Canada, and Japan absorbed the lion's share of U.S. industrial investment until roughly 1960. However, all this time, these countries were developing their own economies. They were no longer client states. They were emerging as serious competitors of U.S. business all over the world.

The following developments were apparent to any politician who needed to know the true international state of the U.S. economy—and McGovern, as a long-standing member of the Kennedy camp, was among the first to be aware of them:

> *1. The U.S. rulers' share of international trade was slipping. Their share of exports of key manufactured goods from major industrial suppliers declined 10 per-*

"The Senator is deeply interested in this particular pocket of poverty. Could we circle once more?"

cent between 1954-6 and 1961. ("U.S. Share of World Markets for Manufactured Products," U.S. Dept. of Commerce, March 1964, pp. 2-10). The U.S. businessmen's share of markets in "underdeveloped" countries fell variously between 9 and 24 percent.

2. By 1962, the rate of profit on U.S. investments in Europe had begun to plummet. (Monthly Economic Letter of the First National City Bank, March 1967, p. 34).

3. Capitalist competition was increasing sharply in countries where U.S. businessmen were trying to invest capital and sell goods. To compete with other capitalist countries, the U.S. ruling class entered a period (a period in which it still finds itself) that requires intensified reliance on overseas production, with more and more use of the cheap labor "available" in the "underdeveloped" countries as well as the stepped-up depletion of the resources in these countries. (see Business Abroad: 2-5-68, 12-25-67; Wall Street Journal, 1-24-68).

When JFK was inaugurated in 1961, he spoke of a "New Frontier." He would have spoken more honestly if he had said the "last frontier," because eastern Asia—and particularly southeast Asia—provides the last frontier for super-profitable U.S. investment. Wages in Asia are the world's **lowest**; profits are therefore the world's **highest. Indochina is vital to the conquest and maintenance of this frontier: every** U.S. administration from Roosevelt to Nixon has agreed to this point.

Back in 1954, **U.S. News and World Report** said in an article entitled "WHY THE U.S. RISKS WAR FOR INDOCHINA: IT'S THE KEY TO CONTROL OF ALL ASIA:"

> *One of the world's richest areas is open to the winner in Indochina. That's behind the growing U.S. concern . . . tin, rubber, rice, key strategic raw materials are what the war is really all about. The U.S. sees it as a place to hold—at any cost. (4-4-54).*

In 1953, Eisenhower agreed. (The N.Y. **Times** quoted him to this effect 13 years later on 7-26-66). So did Henry Cabot Lodge ten years later. (See Boston **Globe** 2-28-65). And Senator Gale McGee of Wyoming summed up the view of the main section of the U.S. ruling class when he said:

> *That empire in southeast Asia is the last major resource area outside the control of any of the major powers on the globe. (Speech to U.S. Senate, 2-17-65).*

A simple statistic will tell volumes. In south Vietnam, skilled construction workers earn twice as much money as the average manufacturing worker. **In 1969, south Vietnamese skilled construction workers received a wage of 36 cents an hour.**

Faced with the possibility of raking in the profits produced by this kind of exploitation, liberals and conservatives in the U.S. ruling class fell over each other to guarantee that the "New Frontier" in southeast Asia was covered with dollar signs.

The only real issue for the U.S. bosses was how best to ensure their rule in Vietnam. First, they tried to rule indirectly, by attempting to prop up a tottering French colonial regime. Virtually the entire Vietnamese people were waging war against the French colonialists, and the U.S. government was footing 80 percent of the military bill just to make sure the French could field an army. By 1954, the French had been defeated. The Vietminh, which had led the Vietnamese people's struggle against them, with enormous popular support, agreed to negotiate a settlement at Geneva. The actual details of the settlement are unimportant, although the U.S. government was later to violate them countless times. What counted to the point of view of U.S. imperialism was that the Vietminh agreed to withdraw troops to the north for two years. This gave the U.S. government time and maneuverability to implement the plan devised by then-Senator John F. Kennedy: install an anti-communist puppet government bought and paid for by the U.S.

The chicanery and brutality employed to install the Ngo Dinh Diem regime by now are legendary. What counts most is that by 1956, the Vietnamese people saw that the Geneva agreements of 1954 were a betrayal of all they had fought for. They regrouped and began fighting again—this time to get rid of both Diem and his U.S. bosses. Despite the efforts of the U.S. "advisors," despite the pressganging of thousands of Vietnamese youth into military service for the imperialists, despite the vast repressive force built up by the U.S. in Vietnam during the 1954-5 period, and despite the feverish efforts of the Michigan State Advisory Group and other "scholarly" institutions to help Diem exercise his fascist rule— the **VIETNAMESE PEOPLE FOUGHT BACK, GAINED STRENGTH, AND BEGAN TO WIN MAJOR VICTORIES.** By his inauguration, President Kennedy saw that Diem was falling. He got economist Eugene Staley and General Taylor to adopt the Staley-Taylor plan for "special war." This plan provided for 16,000 "strategic hamlet" concentration camps to imprison 2/3 of the population and for an increase in south Vietnamese armed forces under the beefed-up **direct** leadership of more U.S. "advisers." By the time the U.S. had thrown away their puppet Diem in 1963, "special war" was being put into effect.

"Special war" failed, too—ignominiously. With overwhelming support from millions of Vietnamese workers, farmers, students, and intellectuals, the National Liberation Front went on the offensive in 1964, driving the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN: the south Vietnamese puppet army) out of vast areas. It wiped out most of ARVN's strategic reserves. An official U.S. report released April 1, 1964 admitted that 42 percent of south Vietnam's villages were under uncontested NFL control, with the rest "contested." (For more details on this period as well as the entire war in Vietnam up to and including the 1970 Cambodia invasion, see PLP pamphlet **Vietnam: Defeat U.S. Imperialism!**)

The conclusion that must be drawn from the above facts is inescapable. When Lyndon Johnson cooked up the Tonkin Gulf provocation in August, 1964, when George McGovern, William Fulbright, Eugene McCarthy, other liberals, and "conservatives" voted in the Congress to pass the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, **THEY ALL KNEW THAT THE U.S. HAD BEEN BADLY DEFEATED IN ITS EFFORTS TO IMPOSE IMPERIALIST RULE ON VIETNAM BY PROXY. THEY KNEW THAT THE ONLY RECOURSE AVAILABLE TO THEM WAS TO INTENSIFY TERROR BOMBING AND, MORE IMPORTANTLY, TO SEND AN INVADING FORCE OF HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF U.S. TROOPS IN THE HOPE OF WINNING A WAR OF CONQUEST.**

The U.S. government knew it couldn't win with an ARVN whose desertion rate was ridiculously high. They knew they needed U.S. troops en masse to bolster sagging morale in Saigon. Also, they hoped that the air bombing over north Vietnam, the invasion of the south, and the **threat** of an invasion of the north, would pressure the leaders of north Vietnam and the NFL to negotiate.

Initially this strategy led to greater and greater fiascoes for U.S. imperialism on the battlefield. The NLF grew in numbers, strength, and influence among the Vietnamese people. Its fighters routed the cream of the U.S. armed forces, the Green Berets and the Marines. Rank-and-file U.S. working class soldiers began rebelling by the thousands. Hatred of U.S. imperialism increased among millions throughout the world. At home, a swelling anti-war movement opened up a second front against the imperialists.

U.S. rulers appeared to have only one choice available to them: either withdraw or be smashed. Ultimately, however, they found a reprieve from the most unlikely source—NFL and DRV leaders, with the backing of opportunists in Moscow and Peking.

During the various phases of struggle within Vietnam—against the French colonialists before and after World War II, against the Japanese fascists during World War II, and against the U.S. imperialists after 1954, two schools of thought have affected the direction taken by the Vietnamese people's movement. One says: our main aim must be to drive out the foreign invaders. In order to do so, we need a coalition of all patriotic elements. Vietnamese workers can ally with Vietnamese bankers and factory-owners; Vietnamese farmers can ally with Vietnamese landlords: the alliance is based on the overwhelming need to get rid of the French, Japanese, or U.S. imperialists. We can deal with internal conflicts among Vietnamese afterwards.

The second school of thought says: Why did we oppose the French colonialists, the Japanese fascists, and the U.S. imperialists in the first place? Because they were all exploiters. The vast majority of us stand to suffer immeasurably from the private profit system—no matter **who** runs it or what language they speak. Our experiences in struggle prove that we can win. What do we need Vietnamese bosses for afterwards? What do we need any bosses for? The logic of our struggle dictates that we pursue it to the end, that we reject the business-as-usual theory of "national independence," and that we fight until we have won **socialism.**

The leaders of the NLF and DRV consistently pursue the first line of reasoning. By 1967, they had retreated from their initial position that they would negotiate with the imperialists only after the imperialists had withdrawn all their troops from Vietnam. They now said:

> *After the unconditional cessation of U.S. bombing raids and all other acts of war against the DRV, the DRV and U.S. could enter into talks and discuss questions concerning both sides. (U.S. News and World Report, 4-3-67)*

DRV and NLF leaders rejected the successful strategy of relying on people's war to destroy imperialism and instead adopted the outlook of waging war to conduct negotiations. Their own opportunism and pressure from the Soviet Union had led them to lose confidence in the desire and need felt by millions of Vietnamese people to overthrow imperialism and exploitation once and for all.

Theodore Draper pointed out that the "Soviets had clearly influenced Ho Chi Minh and his colleagues to come down from their four points." (**New York Review of Books**, 5-4-67).

U.S. rulers had been following developments in the Soviet Union with intense interest. By the mid-1950s, they saw that Soviet leaders headed by Khrushchev, had succumbed to U.S. imperialist pressure and that they were consciously bent on restoring capitalism to the Soviet Union. The more astute members of the U.S. ruling class understood that the new "red" capitalists in the U.S.S.R. were no longer bent on overthrowing the private profit system and imperialism but that instead they had become fierce competitors, **within the context of continuing imperialism.** Competition might be sharp; under certain circumstances it might lead to intra-imperialist war by proxy (as in the Mideast, over control of the oil resources); but when the question was one of reversing revolutionary movements, **THE SOVIETS WERE ANXIOUS TO DEAL.** In mid-1967, at the height of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, LBJ met with Kosygin at Glassboro to divide up the world's markets and, incidentally, come to terms on the question of Vietnam.

Given the strategy they were pursuing, north Vietnamese leaders found themselves boxed in. They had abandoned the long-term outlook of fighting a people's war that would attack the enemy only from a position of **relative** numerical strength and had instead adopted a plan of battle that involved slugging it out toe-to-toe with the imperialists. In order to carry this plan out, they needed modern equipment for positional warfare—equipment they could not manufacture and that the Soviet bosses were all too willing to supply in return for the political clout it gave them in Hanoi. As Draper pointed out and as dozens of other sources attest, the Soviets were doing their utmost to get the north Vietnamese and NLF leaders to make a deal with the U.S. imperialists. They saw the inherent dangers for world-wide imperialism in the titanic struggle taking place in China during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. They knew that the longer millions of Vietnamese workers and farmers were engulfed in daily battles with U.S. imperialism, the greater chances were that new leadership would emerge from their ranks to propose a perspective of continuing the fight until socialism had been won.

This was an outcome neither the Soviets nor U.S. bosses wanted.

Once the DRV and NLF leaders had made it clear that they were fighting to gain maneuverability for eventual negotiations, a serious debate began to take place within the U.S. ruling circles. Liberal "doves" led by Kennedy, Fulbright, McCarthy, McGovern, and others understood that the Soviets had abandoned the goal of socialism and restored capitalism. They saw that NLF and DRV leaders were really nationalists disguised as communists. The "doves" drew the right conclusions from the fact that so-called communists within the NLF advocated a program that welcomed all investment in an "independent" south Vietnam. The "doves" understood first that the DRV-NLF didn't want to win socialism in Vietnam but rather hoped to reach an accommodation with U.S. imperialism by making a deal that would permit Ford, Chase Manhattan, Esso, Coca-Cola, etc. to set up shop in Saigon in return for the withdrawal of U.S. troops and the establishment of a "left"-tilted nationalist government.

In a word, the "doves" wanted to take advantage of the enormous breathing space offered to U.S. imperialism by the emergence of revisionism as a dominant force within the old international communist movement.

When we use the term "revisionism," we do not mean to hurl epithets or curses. Revisionism exists. It is the main obstacle that holds back hundreds of millions of people in their fight to climb out of the morass of capitalist oppression. In essence, it is the theory and practice of capitalism as advocated by those who **claim** to be revolutionary communists. Reduced to its simplest terms, revisionism contains four principal ideas:

1. **NATIONALISM,** the idea that the main force both uniting and dividing people in the world is nationality or "race," not class. In Vietnam, nationalists advocate the unity of all Vietnamese workers, farmers, students, and bosses. But what difference does a boss' nationality make to a Vietnamese construction worker who receives 39 cents an hour or to a Vietnamese farmer who probably makes less than half that salary? Similarly, in the U.S., why should millions of super-exploited

black workers view themselves as any less oppressed because a few black bosses "make it" to the New York Stock Exchange? Nationalism is a capitalist idea.

2. **ALL-CLASS UNITY.** This idea breathes the same air as nationalism. It takes many forms. One resolution put forth by the south Vietnam "Peoples' Revolutionary Government" calls for a regime to

> *encourage industrial and trading burgeoisie to contribute to the development of industry, small industry, and handicrafts. (Proceeding of the South Vietnam Congress of People's Representatives, p. 55).*
>
> *. . The same resolution notes that:*
>
> *Industrialists and traders are entitled to freedom of enterprise, and to resist any oppressive competition by foreign monopoly capital. (Ibid.)*

The only restraint to the development of capitalism here is the protection of the domestic variety against the potential "excesses" of foreign investment. But **everything** capitalism does is excessive. Another example: prior to the 1970 General Motors strike, GM bosses were trying to get workers to speed up production on their new Vega—a model specifically designed to compete with small imports—particularly Japanese Toyotas and Datsuns. The bosses flooded plants with disgusting racist caricatures of Japanese people and the slogan "Don't let them get ahead of us." What common cause can the workers of the Lordstown Vega plant (known for the fastest speed-up in the U.S.) possibly have with GM bosses? All-class unity is a capitalist idea.

3. **U.S. IMPERIALISTS—OR ANY CAPITALISTS—AREN'T THE IMPLACABLE ENEMIES OF WORKING PEOPLE EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD. THEY CAN BE "DEALT WITH."** The experience of the Vietnamese people after 1954 proves eloquently that this is a lie. The Geneva agreements disarmed the Vietnamese people, paved the way for the U.S. to install the fascist Diem, and led directly to greater warfare than before. Alliances made by Indonesian "communists" with Indonesian bosses and Soviet and other imperialists led directly to the slaughter of hundreds of thousands in 1965. French imperialists suck more billions from the backs of Algerian workers than it ever did when Algeria was a French colony. The idea that imperialism can change or that there are "good" and "bad" imperialists is a pro-imperialist idea.

4. **THE WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF EVERY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD DON'T NEED REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST IDEAS IN THE FOREFRONT OF THEIR STRUGGLE AND DON'T NEED TO FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM.** The experience of billions of people in every country of the world over the past hundred years proves that socialism is precisely what workers and oppressed people **everywhere** need. Millions fought in Europe to get the Nazis off their backs. They were led by once-mighty communist parties that have now degenerated into a class of new, "red" bosses. But the class struggle continues to rage in all these countries. In Poland in 1970, masses of workers invaded the office of the Polish Communist Party putting forth class grievances and singing the **Internationale.** For more than a decade, the greatest revolutionary upsurge in the history of the world during the Great Proletarian Revolution attempted to rid Chinese workers, farmers, and students of the new "red bourgeoisie" that had restored capitalism in China. This struggle failed, but it taught billions around the world the lesson that the international working class cannot survive unless it ultimately wins socialism. (See special issue of PL magazine for thorough discussion of the Great Proletarian Revolution and the reversal of workers' power in China.) Communists who advocate anything less than socialism—workers' power—are really fighting for capitalism, no matter how militant they sound.

U.S. "doves" saw that the DRV-NLF leadership in Vietnam favored nationalism, all-class unity, a "soft" approach to imperialism as a **system,** and compromise on the goal of socialism. The doves knew that their goose was cooked on the battlefield. The surviving Kennedys, McCarthy, Fulbright, and McGovern all saw that the modern forms of "gun-boat" diplomacy—reliance first on the fascist Diem, then on "special war," and finally on massive troop invasions—had only served to intensify the **debacle** of U.S. imperialism. They saw the PRG program of capitalism in Vietnam under the cover of leftwing demagoguery as the only hope for salvaging maximum profits in Vietnam.

These were essentially the terms of the "dove"-"hawk" debate. The "doves" wanted rapid negotiations leading to a deal that would send U.S. troops home and pave the way for U.S. factories and banks in Vietnam. The "hawks" wanted the same results but were in less of a hurry to sit down at the bargaining table. Ultimately, the "doves" won on the first point. Negotiations began in 1968.

The substance of the issue has not changed. Today, as the negotiators continue to haggle at the bargaining table, playing a chess game with thousands of U.S. and Vietnamese worker-soldiers, the question reduces itself to the **appearance** of the pro-capitalist coal ition government that will rule south Vietnam after U.S. troops pull out. Nixon and other "hawks" want a right-wing nationalist government that includes Thieu. McGovern, Kennedy, and the other liberal "doves" want a "left-wing" nationalist government that excludes Thieu but includes some of his leading supporters. The DRV-PRG revisionists want to deal on the liberals' terms.

McGovern and Nixon represent differing points of view—but the difference is one of tactics, not principles. Both the liberals and the conservatives understand that U.S. imperialism cannot survive if it fails to make an accomodation with the revisionists. The main disagreement concerns the degree to which the revisionists can be trusted and the rapidity with which the agreements can be reached. The liberals have been clamoring for years that U.S. imperialism can deal with China. They have long understood the pro-capitalist content of Chinese foreign policy (alliances with the worst fascists and nationalists in Pakistan, Africa, the Mideast, etc.). They knew that the end of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution signalled a defeat for the most revolutionary forces among the Chinese people and the consolidation of Mao-Chou leadership that would ultimately restore capitalism to China. Nixon went to China—and the liberals applauded him for it. They had wanted to get there sooner. McGovern is trained as a teacher of capitalist history. He doubtless remembers the "Open Door" policy of the early 20th Century, when treaties allowed U.S. capital unlimited access to the labor power of hundreds of millions of Chinese workers.

The liberals also want an accomodation with the Soviet revisionists. Nixon's recent trip to the Soviet Union is merely a continuation of the process set in motion during the Johnson-Kosygin Glassboro meetings in 1967. Here again, the liberals might have wanted to deal sooner; they might have wanted a more sweeping deal, but both they and the conservatives start from the same basic assumption. They all agree that the world's

markets must be redivided in keeping with changes that have occured within the imperialist camp. They all agree that the Soviet Union and China are imperialist forces to be reckoned with—and they all agree upon a fundamental outlook of attempting to iron out differences in the coming period by negotiation rather than head-on confrontation.

The difference between liberals and conservatives sharpens more over the question of dealing with "minor" revisionists. The Soviet Union and U.S. imperialists have decided that where differences cannot be resolved peacefully, warfare should be conducted by "proxy—" between client states. Periodic flare-ups in the Mideast between pro-Soviet Egyptian bosses and pro-U.S. Israeli bosses reflect this decision. So does the recent struggle between India and Pakistani bosses over the question of Bangla Desh.

The results of the Bangla Desh struggle prove that the liberals have a more profitable plan for advancing the cause of U.S. imperialism. Bangla Desh was a supercolony for West Pakistani bosses, populated by millions of workers who were forced to work for even lower wages than West Pakistani or Indian workers. The sharpest class struggle on the Indian subcontinent had taken place there. Indian and Soviet bosses wanted to control their labor power. Nixon and Chinese chiefs sided with the West Pakistan ruling class, headed by an open fascist, Yahya Kahn. The Soviets sided with the Indian bourgeoisie. Indian workers are as horribly oppressed as Pakistani workers—but the Indian government (which touts itself as a "Western-style democracy"), the pro-Soviet Indian Communist Party (which exerts its revisionist influence over millions), and the nationalist ideology and organization of Sheik Mujibur Rahman in Bangla Desh provided a more effective political cover than U.S. planes and Chinese AK-47s in the hands of Yahya Kahn.

Result? The U.S. and Chinese bosses were clobbered, along with Yahya; Soviet and Indian bosses and their pal the Sheik are laughing all the way to the bank—and the workers of India, West Pakistan, and Bangla Desh are suffering under worse exploitation than ever.

Teddy Kennedy knows a good thing when he sees it. He immediately flew over to the newly independent Bangla Desh, shed public crocodile tears over the atrocities committed during the struggle, criticized Nixon, and called for U.S. recognition of Bangla Desh. **He and his other liberal friends understand that "gun-boat" diplomacy will not work anywhere. They have learned from the revisionists that the most efficient way of imposing capitalist rule is not through terror but rather through leaders whose demagogic appeals to the aspirations of the masses can win some measure of temporary popular support.**

Thieu is undoubtedly the most hated Vietnamese in Vietnam. Teddy Kennedy and McGovern know that Nixon can no more accomplish the goals of U.S. imperialism with Thieu than JFK could with Diem. Kennedy, McGovern, and all the liberals know they have good reason to trust not only the "big-time" revisionists in Moscow and Peking but also the "small-timers" in Hanoi and elsewhere. They are furious at Nixon's vacillation on the deal offered by the DRV-PRG. They know that his present

hawk tactics of mining harbors will fail and can lead only to the next step up the ladder of escalation: the use of tactical nuclear weapons and a land invasion of north Vietnam. The liberals would not hesitate to do either of these things if they thought them to be necessary and feasible—but they know this is not the case.

In the first place, the deal is all but made. The liberals want to get rid of Thieu—and they are right. Better to rule with a PRG leader like Mme. Binh who has some semblance of respectability among the people and who will guarantee the flow of dollars from Saigon to Washington. In the second place, the liberals know that nuclear weapons won't fundamentally alter the political or military situation in Vietnam—and that their use would inevitably provoke enormous, militant anti-imperialist outrage by millions throughout the world. Finally, both the liberals and Nixon know that their tactical maneuverability is sorely hampered by the fact that **they can't get "their" own army to fight for them.** The liberals don't want to invade the north; they think they can win with local Vietnamese revisionists; and they are appalled at the prospect of growing rebellion within the army and another massive upsurge of anti-war action at home.

These are the considerations that lead McGovern to promise troop withdrawal from Vietnam within 90 days of his election. He and the liberals want the troops out so U.S. bosses can get down to the business the troops were sent to Vietnam for in the first place: BUSINESS.

From the vantage-point of short-term gains for U.S. imperialism, McGovern's plan is more efficient than Nixon's because it will provide quicker temporary stability for U.S. bosses to invest and profit in Vietnam.

In the long run, however, the social contradictions that brought U.S. imperialism to Vietnam will intensify. More capitalism will not solve the problems of the Vietnamese workers, farmers, and students: it will exacerbate them.

The "peace" McGovern advocates is peace only for U.S. bosses. No matter who becomes the new "president" of south Vietnam, the class war against Vietnamese workers will go on: only the battleground will change. As the Vietnamese people see imperialism expand into their factories, their farms, their communities, and their schools; as they see the capitalist exploitation against which they have fought for decades augment—they will rebel once again. They will learn the bitter lesson of past defeats. They will repudiate the revisionists and choose leaders from their own ranks who are committed to winning socialism.

These developments are as inevitable as the passage from night to day. The Vietnamese people will once again take up people's war against imperialism. When that happens, the imperialists will have only one choice: re-invade Vietnam on an even greater scale.

McGovern and other liberals will no more hesitate to carry out this invasion than their pal JFK hesitated to implement "special war" as the plan for controlling Vietnam.

We in PLP believe that the ultimate resumption of people's war in Vietnam is a necessary and desirable goal. We believe that life has shown the only deal workers can make with imperialism is to crush it. We attempt to accelerate this process by supporting workers and revolutionaries around the world in class struggle against the bosses and by calling for the defeat of U.S. imperialism at home.

We should not be fooled by McGovern's call for "peace" or by the illusion that we will be less badly off with him than with Nixon. The withdrawal of troops from Vietnam gives the imperialists more maneuverability to put down workers' rebellions elsewhere in the world—including the U.S. McGovern will not hesitate to use troops anytime he feels they are necessary—against Arab or Israeli workers, against Latin American workers, or against U.S. workers on strike and in ghettoes.

McGovern and the liberals have chosen sides in the class struggle. They are for the bosses.

Their tactics may vary, but they are for war—against the international working class.

They are not a "lesser" evil.

McGOVERN, RACISM, AND THE WORKING CLASS.

> . . "*Until you've actually sought the support of people of conflicting and varying backgrounds, you don't realize that you seldom have the luxury of taking a black and white position on issues. Politics is a compromising business.*"
>
> —*George McGovern, April 28, 1972*

> . . " . . . *I have a virtual horror of people putting labels on me. I don't like to have my freedom of operation restricted by ideological demands.*"
>
> —*George McGovern, Quoted in New York Magazine, 6-5-72.*

U.S. workers are hurting. Real wages continue to decline more rapidly than ever since the "freeze." Unemployment still hovers around 6 percent, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics: in reality, it is much higher. Rents are skyrocketing. On the job, murderous speed-up has intensified. City and private hospital services for workers have been drastically cut back in the past year. Police terror is a daily phenomenon, particularly in black and Latin ghettoes. More and more workers find themselves forced onto welfare rolls, either because they cannot get work or because their salaries cannot guarantee a minimal subsistence income. Meanwhile, bosses are attempting to slice as many as possible from welfare roles. On July 15 the New York Times ran an article claiming that Jule Sugerman, New York City's notorious racist welfare boss, had "achieved" a rejection rate of 27 percent on relief cases and planned to "level off" at 30 percent.

McGovern and the Democrats know that they cannot mount a serious electoral campaign unless they offer convincing arguments about their ability to solve the problems of working people.

McGovern's campaign literature and speeches have promised everything from the moon to pie-in-the-sky.

He promises tax reform. Yet recently he toned down his earlier "anti-big business" image, saying:

> . . "*I have not suggested that (tax) reform can be achieved without careful consideration by the Congress of each step to be taken . . . I have not suggested the imposition of an income ceiling at $500,000 or any other level . . . I have not suggested that the present corporation tax rate of 48 percent be increased to the old rate of 52 percent . . . I have not suggested the elimination of tax exemption for bonds issued by state and municipal governments. . . . I have not suggested the imposition of excess-profits taxation on general corporate income of a cyclical nature . . . I do not suggest that a ceiling be placed on inheritances*

at $500,000 or any other level." (Ad taken out by McGovern in the Wall Street Journal, 5-22-72)

On May 22, when this ad was published, McGovern was a few short days away from victory in the California primary. The New York primary was barely a month away. He appeared headed for the Democratic nomination. He already had backing from dozens of big businessmen, including:

Henry Kimmelman, real estate magnate in f florida and Virgin Islands

Ruth Handler, president of Mattel Toy

Charles Swibel, president of Marina Management Co.

Stuart Mott, GM heir, U.S. Sugar Corp. heir

Wiley Fairchild, Mississippi building contractor

Louis Wolfson, jailed stock swindler

Jubal Parten, Houston oil millionaire

Ralph Ingersoll, newspaper magnate

Frank Lautenberg, president of Automatic Data Processing Co.

Belmont and Robert Towbin, investment bankers

Robert Townsend, president of Avis, an ITT subsidiary

Robert Brown, vice-president of Arcata National Corp.

Henry Niles, president of Baltimore Life Insurance

A. affaroni, vice president of Syntex

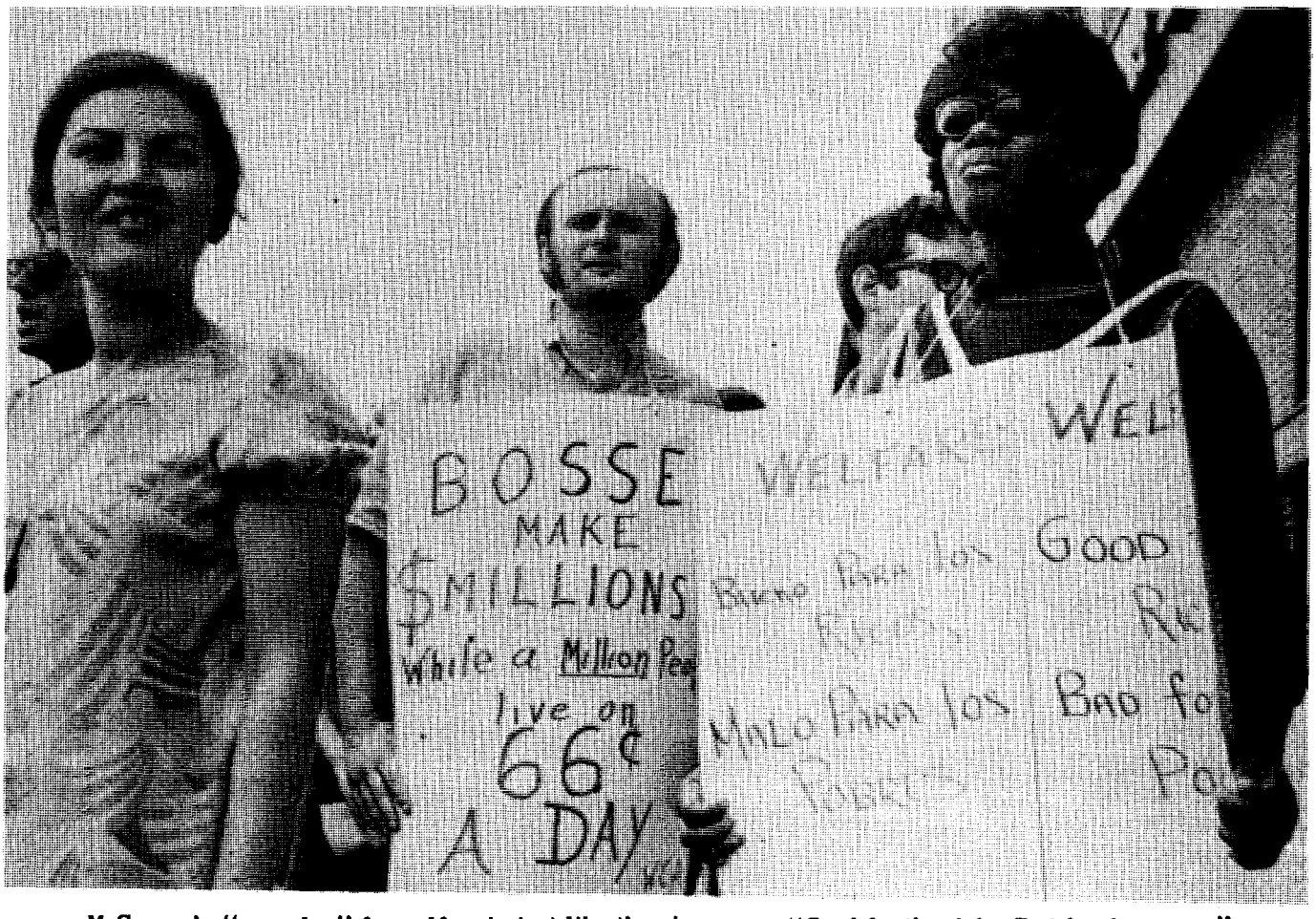
James Kerr, president of AVCO, director of Republic Steel, chairman of Carte Blanche, vice-chairman of Aerospace Industrial Ass'n.

(see **Congressional Quarterly**, 4-8-72; New York **Times**, 3-30-72; Poor's Dun and Bradstreet).

McGovern needed backing from other major sections of the U.S. ruling class if he was to win the primary and have a chance of defeating Nixon. He had to show that his various economic reforms were no more than empty phrases designed to pacify or win over the rebellious workers and militant youth who wanted to see fundamental changes in the system.

The McGovern "income redistribution" plan is a case in point. The **McGovern Encyclopedia** promises;

> ..... *as much as $92 billion in additional revenue to the Treasury . . . This Income Redistribution plan could replace welfare; middle income taxpayers ($4,000 to $12,000) would be eligible to receive from the Federal government an income supplement. The proposal is not limited to any single formula. The annual payment might be as much as $1,000 per person or $4,000 for a family of four.*



McGovern's "new plan" for welfare is just like the sign says: "Good for the rich...Bad for the poor..."

The **Encyclopedia** claims this plan would eliminate the "welfare mess." Two points should be made, however. First, McGovern has already assured Wall Street that he plans no drastic taxation on major corporations. Therefore, any additional money would have to come mainly from the pockets of working people. Secondly the plan is an absurdity, even on its own terms. The Bureau of Labor Statistics now claims that a family of four needs a **minimum** annual income in the neighborhood of $12,000 in order to live above the poverty level. McGovern's plan would "guarantee" **one-third** of that to welfare clients, if it were carried out. McGovern promises that a worker's family would get the difference between what the worker earned and $12,000, but this is ludicrous, because if the corporations aren't taxed, then the money will have to come from the same workers McGovern is proposing to "help."

The true meaning of this plan is as simple as it is vicious. The rulers want to slash welfare rolls. They also want to tighten civil service budgets by axing as many state and municipal employees as possible. In New York City alone, thousands of caseworkers are about to be either laid off or transferred. Clerks, who receive salaries barely higher than welfare payments, will assume the caseworkers' work—without an increase in pay. Clients will be forced to do the work of clerks in order to get their regular welfare checks. This is the essence of Nixon's "Family Assistance Plan" in New York and other major cities. **It is nothing less than superexploitation for clerks and slave labor for clients.** Nixon has put "teeth" into the slave lable plan by adding the notorious "Brownie Points," a program of deliberate racist harrassment directed against welfare clients and designed to justify the removal from welfare rolls of those who don't meet government standards. Thousands of workers and clients have united in militant actions against Nixon's vicious racist scheme.

The substance of McGovern's welfare reform is the same as Nixon's: slave labor and cutbacks.

What kind of jobs is McGovern going to provide for the millions to whom he will be "generously" giving $1,000 each? In August 1971, he praised Nixon's "enlightened" welfare reform plan (Playboy interview, 8-71). Rhetoric aside, McGovern agrees completely with the idea of laying off hundreds of thousands of workers and forcing clients to scab on their class brothers and sisters. This helps divide the people and will bring billions in profits.

McGovern's campaign literature is filled with self-adulation about George the friend of the working class:

> ..."The development of a healthy labor movement in this country has not only provided a balance to corporate business power, but has also created a national climate for the social and economic development which has contributed to the high standard of living enjoyed by most Americans." (McGovern Encyclopedia)

First of all, whose high standard is he talking about? In the second place, whose "health" is he worried about, workers' or bosses'? Consider:

- McGovern has an unblemished record of supporting Taft-Hartley injunctions to force striking workers back on the job. He also voted for the "right-to-work" section of the Taft-Hartley law, a major union- and strike-busting piece of legislation. He now says he "regrets" this move.
- McGovern voted to send striking West Coast longshoremen back to work in the fall of 1971. Small wonder. His campaign backer Ruth Handler told **Fortune** in February, 1972 that

> ..."Our special problem at Mattel Toy was the West Coast Dock strike which before Christmas cut off shipments of toys and accessories made in our plants in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Japan."

On several other occasions, McGovern has also voted to send striking railroad employees back to work.

- Nixon has sent Congress an Emergency Strike Bill designed to end "crippling" national strikes in major industries. This bill provides for both labor and management to submit a "final offer" to a Presidential panel which would then dictate a settlement. In essence, it is the rulers' plan to intervene directly in strikes where rank-and-file militancy is so great that it can no longer be adequately diverted by labor misleaders. The U.S. ruling class has learned its lesson from the 1970 postal strike, when hundreds of thousands of workers all across the country walked off the job in defiance of their national union "leaders," the threat of injunctions, and the National Guard. **McGOVERN'S SILENCE ON THE EMERGENCY STRIKE BILL IS SO SCANDALOUS THAT EVEN MAJOR LABOR FAKERS ARE FORCED TO CRITICIZE HIM PUBLICLY FOR IT.** (See **New York** Magazine, June 12, 1972, p. 12). But some silences speak volumes.
- "Prairie Populist" McGovern has consistently supported large corporate farming interests and opposed those of small farmers and sharecroppers. In 1967, he voted against a bill that would have limited to $10,000 the amount an individual farmer could collect in direct cash subsidies. In 1965 McGovern sent a letter to Seafarers International President Paul Hall outlining his position on a piece of Federal legislation. It turned out that this six-page letter was **identical** with a farm industry statement delivered to the President's Maritime Advisory Council by the Great Plains Wheat Company.
- **The most blatant bit of McGovern economic hypocrisy concerns the wage freeze. As we have tried to point out, the so-called "freeze" is in reality a wage rollback designed by U.S. rulers to augment profits and at the same time break the back of the strike movement. McGovern's demagoguery here consists in attempting to make his wage freeze position appear to favor workers against corporations:**

> George McGovern was the first candidate to call for a wage, price and dividend freeze to take the brunt of the recession of the working man (Leaflet issued by McGovern for President Committee , New York)

In the first place, McGovern has not exactly provided militant leadership against skyrocketing corporate dividends. In the second place, he went on record with the view that "A freeze on profits is totally inappropriate." (**Congressional Record**, 11-10-71). In the third place, McGovern's pro-worker disguise has fallen away to such a great extent by now that the exposure of his true pro-boss identity has begun to embarass key forces in the liberal establishment:

> ..McGovern is opposed to price controls, favoring instead a voluntary approach to keeping inflationary pressures within reasonable bounds. He opposes income ceiling on high salaries, but is for a hard approach to the inflationary impact of wage increases. This stance certainly raises questions about McGovern's populism. (Article in Village Voice, 6-8-72).

McGovern was quick to reassure the Wall Street **Journal** that in his view

> . . *The strength of the American economy is due mainly to the dynamic growth of the private sector led by the corporations and other businesses. It is sound public policy to create the conditions for business to function effectively. (McGovern ad in WSJ, 5-22-72).*

Given McGovern's real record on strikes, the wage freeze, and welfare reform, one is hard-pressed to find an **iota** of substantial difference between his policies or programs and Nixon's. Millions of U.S. workers are fighting tooth and nail to prevent the erosion of their hard-won standard of living. The government is attempting to use the Pay Board to erase major wage gains won by striking workers before and since the freeze. In a one-week period at the beginning of June, the Pay Board both invalidated a settlement won by hotel and restaurant workers in Washington, D.C. that would have raised their hourly wages from $1.60 to $2.25 and also overturned another wage hike won by members of the Philadelphia, Pa. Butchers' Union. Furthermore, hundreds of thousands of state, county, and municipal employees have been owed back pay—totalling up to **$750 per capita** for months. The Pay Board is still "deliberating" over this question. McGovern's response to this situation:

> *I would end the war very quickly,*
> *then call for a reduction in military spending, and then let the wage-price boards die. I would let the controls authorization run out next April 30. (Interview with Business Week: "McGovern Cools His Radical Economics," 5-27-72 .*

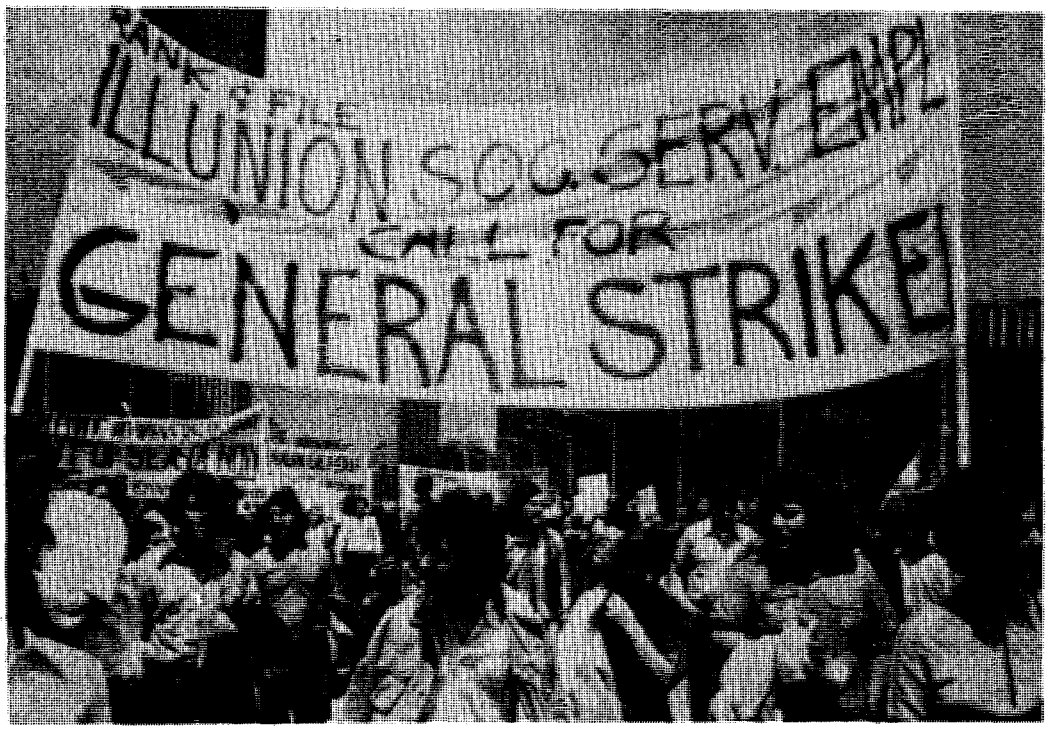
Even if he's telling the truth about ending the wage freeze by April '73—and absolutely **nothing** indicates that President McGovern would hesitate to continue the freeze if he and the ruling class deemed necessary—Candidate McGovern doesn't even bother to **promise** that the Pay Board will honor contracts guaranteeing wage hikes that workers have fought for and won. What about AFSCME workers' back pay? Presumably, McGovern wants us to believe that stealing **their** $750 will help them fight inflation!

Who's he kidding?

Closer to home, McGovern is a well-known racist in his own back yard. For decades, the Indians of South Dakota have suffered horribly from exploitation and brutality directed against them by the Federal government. McGovern ignored the May 29, 1971 killing of an Indian named Herbert Farmer by a St. Francis, South Dakota policeman. He has ignored the long-term harrassment and expropriation from the Cheyenne River Sioux in Eagle Butte, South Dakota (see Akwesasne Notes, **12-71). moreover, he does nothing to stop the systematic use of Indians as low-paid workers by corporations receiving government aid. For example, AVCO—which is owned by McGovern contributor James Kerr—pays Montana Indians $1.80-hr. to produce machine gun belts on a deserted SAC airbase. For this "humanitarian" service, AVCO received a $750,000 Federal grant for "Indian training" and a $2.2 million grant for an Indian "community college."**

The American Indian Movement, a group formed to fight the special oppression of Indian people, has documented over 2,755 cases of racism by the Federal Bureuau of Indian Affairs in the Dakotas, Colorado, and Nebraska. They singled out Aberdeen, South Dakota—McGovern's own stomping grounds—for particular criticism.

More generally, McGovern's racism with respect to welfare clients and unemployed workers is paralleled by his endorsement of police brutality against them. He voted for the 1967 Washington, D.C. Crime Bill and the 1968 Omnibus Crime Bill calling for more dogs and cops on the streets and the cancellation of a few of the already meager "constitutional safeguards" that supposedly guarantee the people immunity



The real answer to bosses' wars and wage freezes .....

from government harrassment, such as the "no forced confessions" provision of the Miranda decision. McGovern also voted for the "Long Amendments" to the so-called "Civil Rights Act" of 1968. These laws are designed to crush violent struggle by masses of workers against the system. They were formulated when the rulers saw the need to respond to the wave of working-class rebellion that was sweeping black and Latin ghettoes after 1964. The amendments call for prison sentences of up to 5 years and fines of up to $10,000 to be levied against the leaders of rebellions. Historically, such laws have been used to railroad communists and other militant organizers.

McGovern has also backed a "nice guy" bill for "recruiting, training, and paying neighborhood youths to assist police in community relations." Liberals justify such measure as methods to "improve" the police. But the real aim of these programs is to induce working class youth to act as a cover for police action against workers, thus giving the rulers' state a more popular disguise. This plan is the home-front version of "pacification," "special war," or "Vietnamization."

Finally, McGovern is openly wooing the police in his drive to win support. He told cops-to-be at New York's John Jay police institute that he favored a "policemen's bill of rights," in other words, that he wants legislation granting special favors to the boxxes' most brutal and racist agents. Some of the rookie cops he addressed at John Jay were later to break into a Muslim mosque in Harlem and shoot several people for no reason.

U.S. rulers may disagree somewhat on the **tactics** of maintaining and expanding imperialist rule abroad. Their unanimity is much greater, however, concerning the best methods for sucking maximum profits of the back of the U.S. working class. The general outlook is for **more** government intervention in all forms of workers' struggles to win better conditions and a higher standard of living.

In every case, this intervention will favor bosses, no matter who is president.

In Nixon's term of office, he has frozen wages, broken strikes, slashed welfare, instituted racist slave labor for clients, and increased police terror in ghettoes.

McGovern can make all the promises he wants. His record proves that if he becomes president, he will freeze wages, break strikes, slash welfare, expand racist slave labor for clients, and increase police terror in ghettoes.

McGovern and the liberals are just as much for capital and against labor as are Nixon and the Republicans.

McGovern and the liberals are not a "lesser" evil in Vietnam. They are not a "lesser" evil at home.

"DEMOCRACY" IN THE McGOVERN CAMPAIGN

(Most of the material in this section was drawn from an article by a disillusioned McGovern volunteer that appeared in the February 24, 1972 issue of **Pacific sun**, published in Marin County, California.)

One of McGovern's proudest claims is that his campaign is being run democratically, that the delegates on his slates to the Democratic Party convention in Miami were chosen by the people and represent the people—and hence, there will be no need for masses to protest the type of electoral fraud that occured in Chicago in 1968.

However, experience shows that there is no real democracy in Honest George's campaign. The major decisions are still made by a handful of people subservient to the wishes of a few millionaires in the liberal wing of the U.S. ruling class. This fact is amply demonstrated by a look at one of the so-called McGovern "grass-roots" caucus meetings held to choose delegates to Miami.

Between four and six hundred people attended the 6th Congressional caucus meeting in Marin County last winter. The meeting was held to nominate delegates for Miami and choose representatives to attend the state steering committee in Los Angeles the next day, where the delegate slate would be approved. Any registered Democrat was eligible to run as a delegate and to vote. Although the caucus was only an "advisory body," McGovern and the Democrats encouraged the presumption that caucus choices for Miami would be overridden only to meet quotas for women, minority group members, and youth.

First order of business at the meeting was to "ratify" one Miami delegate whom McGovern had already chosen—June Oppen Degnan, long a financial power in liberal Democratic circles. Some people at the meeting were upset that they had been asked to provide a "democratic" cover for Denan's ratification, but most agreed that "a candidate is entitled to at least **one** choice."

There was more protest, however, when the caucus was asked to ratify Becky Watkin, co-chairman of McGovern's Marin County campaign, and Frances Shaskin, chairman of the San Francisco campaign, as representatives to the next day's steering committee meeting in Los Angeles. This meeting was to have final word on delegate selection for Miami. When a person at the back of the room moved to open nominations for other people to go to L.A., staff members and other big shots in the campaign argued that such nominations would be out of order and unnecessary, since all the L.A. meeting would do was to ratify persons already chosen by the caucus.

People protested, some arguing that the important final decision-making role of the L.A. meeting required representatives to be elected by the caucus if they were to truly represent it. Phil Drath, an experienced Democratic Party pro, said "rules were rules," and the caucus should trust the campaign officials. **Watkin actually stated in front of all that she didn't care what the caucus did—she was going to L.A. anyway.** Eventually, Watkin and Shaskin were ratified.

After delegate nominations had been closed, Watkin and Shaskin used a recess to add to the ballot the names of two persons who hadn't been nominated—William Bennett, of the state Board of Equalization, and one Alan Becker. When this move was challenged after the caucus reconvened, Watkin said she had "forgotten" to nominate them and was having the names printed on the ballot for "expediency," because ehe assumed the nominations could be reopened.

During the discussion, one member predicted that since Watkin and Shaskin had placed those names on the ballot, Becker and Bennett would be delegates after the L.A. meeting, no matter how few votes they received. H e moved the caucus vote be binding on the L.A. delegates, and that they be allowed to make switches only for the purpose of filling quotas. His resolution was passed by acclamation as a "sense of the caucus" resolution. Fevertheless, his earlier prediction about Becker and Bennett was to come true.

Most of the 13 "caucus nominees" after the balloting were men. Since the delegate slate as a whole had to be 51 percent women, it was obvious some changes would be made in L.A. Two of the thirteen caucus nominees were minority group members. But when Watkin, Shaskin, and J Degnan (who nobody even knew was goining to L.A.!) returned, the final Miami slate was lily-white and contained the names of two

persons not included on the original list of 13—Becker and Madleine Haas Russell, both wealthy contributors to the McGovern campaign.

People were furious! Bill Cavala and Bill Lockyer, big shots in McGovern's northern California campaign, were phoned at the San Francisco office. An explanation was demanded and a meeting set up for the following week. But the northern California staff withheld information on the meeting from volunteer workers—from both those who were upset about changes in the 6th district slate and other volunteers angry about similar changes in Oakland's 7th Congressional caucus. The paid staff was thus able to prevent Marin and San Francisco volunteers from learning that many in both groups were outraged at the way the caucuses had been overridden. One phone call asking about results of the L.A. meeting was ignored by a paid staffer who remarked that the caller was "just a volunteer."

At the meeting in Marin, the staff told varying stories. One was that there had to be more women on the slate. It was pointed out, however, that at least two women from San Francisco had placed higher in the balloting than Russell. Then Lockyer and Cavala claimed the finafce chairman had "hit the roof" when he learned no big campaign contributors were elected from the caucus. Finally, it was later admitted privately by a SanFrancisco headquarters staffer that the decision to put Russell and Becker on the delegate list had been made even before the L.A. meeting took place.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY 'DEMOCRACY'—NEW YORK STYLE

The June 5 issue of New York Magazine printed a cover with the smiling faces of Walter Cronkite, McGovern, Shirley Chisholm, Humphrey, Shirley MacLain, Larry O'Brien (National Democratic Party Chairman), Jerry Rubin, and even Colonel Sanders. All were shown standing on a lush Miami beach. Printed above their heads in bold blue and red letters was the caption: "Getting Ready for Almost Anything in Miami—COME ON DOWN!" The feature article in the same issue by Richard Reeves said: "This convention promises to be the most open and potentially exciting one since the things were invented in 1831 by the AntiMasonic Party. It should be a watershed event in American politics; it could be the making or breaking of the oldest political organization in the Western world, the Democratic Party of the United States." Reeves went on to add: "The Democrats are trying to set up what will be the largest, youngest, blackest, femalest, most unpredictable convention ever."

Given such advance bally-hoo, one would expect the New York McGovern campaign headquarters to bend over backwards in encouraging its volunteers to go to Miami and present their views on programs, issues, and platforms. Only such an approach would be consistent with the grass-roots character of McGovern's public image.

Two factors quickly intervened, however, to bring about chicanery similar to what had taken place in the Marin county 6th Congressional Caucus.

First, the New York State Democratic primary was scheduled for June 20. By then, McGovern's New York volunteers would temporarily have "outlived their usefulness" until the time came to press them into service for the campaign against Nixon. Secondly, many had begun to show signs of major disaffection. As McGovern drew closer and closer to the nomination, more and more McGovern workers—the same people who had been marching to end the war, attacking ROTC buildings, and striking universities over war research and racism—were outraged at his public elbow-rubbing with some of the most hated ruling class forces in the U.S. and his blatant rightward tilt. McGovern visited George Wallace in the hospital and told reporters he could accept Wallace in his cabinet. McGovern visited police in Queens, N.Y. and told them: they would have a "friend in George McGovern" if he got to the White House." (New York **Times**, June 16). McGovern toned down his more radical-sounding rhetoric and publicly declared himself a friend of big business.

McGovern staffers and Democratic party regulars were frightened to death of a rebellion within the ranks of their own supppprters. (See Evans and Novak, New York Post, 6-17-72 . They began to drop all pretense of internal democracy within the McGovern campaign and the Party as a whole.

A McGovern volunteer asked a staffer for help in organizing other volunteers to go to the Miami convention. He was told: "People should stay away from there. The greater the number of non-delegates in Miami, the greater chances are for a riot."

Democratic State Committee Platform hearings were scheduled for June 22, two days **after** the primary. Such an event should serve as a showcase for the Democrats' new, democratic image. Theoretically, hundreds or even thousands of rank-and-file trade-unionists, unemployed workers, students, tenants, professionals, and others would know well in advance where the hearings would be held so they could come and make clear their views on the war, racism, the wage freeze, housing, unemployment, transportation, medical care, and a host of other issues vital to the survival of millions.

In fact, however, top Democratic bosses kept the location of the platform hearings a jealously guarded secret. Not only did they fail to issue public literature advertising the hearings—**they even refused to divulge any information to callers.** One

WE WANT JOBS
JOBS
JOBS NOW
RAISE JOBLESS PAY
MORE LAYOFFS
"WHY ALL THIS FUSS ABOUT BEING UNEMPLOYED...?
I HAVEN'T WORKED A DAY IN THE LAST 20 YEARS!"

welfare worker who phoned Democratic State Committee offices every day for a week to find out where the hearings were being held was given the following answers: "Phone us in another week; we'll give you the name of the New York Hotel;" "Niagara Falls;" "Write to Democratic National Committee headquarters in Washington and ask them;" "Miami;" "We still don't know."

THE ALTERNATIVES: HOW WE CAN WIN

The fact that every major liberal candidate serves only the interests of U.S. bosses shouldn't really surprise us. Under capitalism, the electoral system has never functioned in the interests of working people and students. Politicians of all stripes—conservative, middle-of-the-road, or liberal—have always been controlled by the handful of rich in this country who own 90 per cent of its wealth and whose money and approval any politician needs to remain in office.

We have not tried to argue that all of the rulers see things in a monolithic way. Nixon may want to continue bombing before signing a deal with Vietnamese leaders, while Kennedy-McGovern want the deal now. Rockefeller may want to perpetuate the illusion of democracy for the people, while Morgan favors more rapid moves to fascism. IBM may think its foreign interests are best protected in certain countries by use of economic "aid," while I.T.T. may want to topple any regime that isn't openly right-wing. The rulers always argue among themselves over whether their interests are best served by the carrot or the stick at any given time.

As we have tried to show, however, the handful of people who own the major banks and corporations and the politicians who represent them agree unanimously that the state apparatus must be used to protect their class interest at all times and at all costs. They differ on tactics, never on aims.

By now, most people in this country and around the world understand that U.S. bosses are their enemies. The bosses know this. They also know they need political candidates who will create the illusion of serving masses of workers, students, and others who want changes in the system. In every case, as these candidates rise to higher prominence, their "popular" disguise falls off and their pro-ruler essence is progressively unmasked by their own actions. McGovern is not an exception: his present maneuvering follows the law of politics under capitalism, as did the maneuvering of the Kennedys, LBJs, McCarthys, and others before him.

The bosses also know that each time a "lesser" evil is unmasked as an equal evil, they must keep another "lesser" evil waiting in the wings. Teddy Kennedy is playing this role for them now—the same Teddy whoe brother JFK helped implement "special war" and then paved the way for 500,000 U.S. troops to invade Vietnam.

Finally, if all else fails, the bosses think they can stay on top by promoting cynicism among the people. Thousands who had worked vigorously for McCarthy because they viewed his candidacy as a viable method of getting the U.S. out of Vietnam returned home disgusted and discouraged after 1968. Others are now deserting the McGovern campaign. If Teddy Kennedy comes on to center stage, many of his initial supporters will turn away in revulsion as they see that he too is just another wolf in sheep's clothing.

The rulers would prefer us to endorse them enthusiastically. However, they can get along quite well with our cynicism. If we are convinced that nothing can change, then imperialism, racism, the wage freeze, unemployment, and the million other forms of profit-making exploitation of workers will go on untrammeled.

VENEZUELAN STUDENT PROTEST....

McGovern's foreign policy would keep workers enslaved in countries like these.

But this cannot happen. Workers and oppressed people everywhere must fight back in order to survive. The class struggle rages every day in every place where exploitation exists. The people of Vietnam fought back after the 1954 sellout: they will do so again. Millions of Red Guards fought to topple China's "red" ruling class. The prisoners of Attica rebelled and temporarily overthrew their tormentors. Workers in hundreds of industries have defied laws, wage freezes, injunctions, and traitors within their own ranks to strike for improved conditions. More and more students are stuffing racist lies about non-white people down the throats of the Jensens, Shockleys, and Herrnsteins who teach them.

Betrayal never works. The people always regroup and fight back, because capitalism cannot solve the problems it creates.

As we have said before, the Progressive Labor Party believes that if the people are to insure themselves of a better life, the working class must take power away from the bosses, b destroying capitalism's laws, bureaucracy, police, and army the entire capitalist state apparatus. We need a system run b workers and their allies among progressive students an professionals. We need socialism.

The bosses won't give it to us. Their actions in Vietnam prov that their ruthlessness is **unlimited** when they fear a threat t their power or profits. They will not leave Vietnam peacefully— they must be driven out. **They will not give up their power over us peacefully—especially not by elections they control**. We wil have to fight them every step of the way. The war will be long and difficult. It will extend to every front.

But we can win. We can win because we are the many and they are the few. We can win because billions of people in every corner of the world need socialism as much as they need air to breathe. Nothing can stop class-conscious workers on the road

A couple of veteran "lesser evils..."

to revolution.

The Progressive Labor Party hopes to become the party that workers, students, and others will look to for revolutionary leadership. We believe the American people will turn away from McGovern, Kennedy, and other liberal fakers, not only because the politicians oppose revolution, but also because they cannot and will not help the people win improved conditions even **within** the system. As communists, we attempt to bring our ideas to every arena of class struggle—every battle in which people fight for a better life. We are convinced that unity between communists and non-communists is vital to the growth of a militant reform movement in the trade unions, on campus, in the communities, and elsewhere.

Instead of following the dead-end course charted by McGovern and the liberals, help organize to win better conditions for workers:

1. Join the Workers Action Movement (WAM). WAM is a nationwide organization of workers in trade unions, unorganized workers, and unemployed workers dedicated to leading the fight for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. 30 for 40 and a big wage boost can make a major dent in unemployment, reverse speed-up, and bust the wage-freeze. But the bosses won't give it to us. We'll have to fight hard to win. W e can win by organizing a nation-wide rank and file movement that fights for the shorter work in every major industry, union , and shop. Write to WAM for 30 for 40 petitions. Help build rank and-and-file solidarity by supporting all workers' strikes.

2. Build on-the-job caucuses that fight to bring the unions back to the workers. We—the rank-and-file—**are** the union! We have the power to make things run or to shut them down. Everything depends on us. But our fight against the bosses is often held back by misleadership within our own ranks. George Meany's one "contribution" to the fight against the wage freeze was to raise his $70,000 salary to $90,000. He and the Woodcocks, Bridges, and Van Arsdales have to go! We need workers' power in the unions to advance the fight against the boss!

3. Join groups like National Welfare rights Organization (NWRO) in Chicago and Workers and Clients Against Layoffs and Cutbacks (WACALAC) in New York to fight against the rulers' racist slave labor schemes, stop welfare slashes, and build unity between employed and unemployed.

4. Join Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). SDS is the only nation-wide, campus-based organization of black, Latin, Asian, and white students that fights racism, organizes to get U.S. imperialism out of southeast Asia, and allies with workers. In the past school year, SDS led actions from Harvard to Berkeley to expose and defeat the neo-nazi line that black and Latin people are "genetically" or "culturally" inferior to white people. Because of these campaigns, Harvards's Herrnstein has been condemned by thousands across the country; Berkeley's Jensen has been forced to run to Australia for cover; and Stanford's Shockley no longer has official sanction to teach his "master race" theories. SDS also provided key leadership in organizing strike movements against dozens of pro-imperialist college administrations when Nixon re-escalated the Vietnam war.

5. Join groups like the Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR) and organize to end the rotten health "care" that kills thousands of workers every year. In New York, MCHR members have been active in fighting Saul Krugman, the Racist Beast of Willowbrook, who for years has been conducting "experiments" that infect child mental patients with hepatitis. Fights must be built against other such concentration camp practices, such as California's plan to give lobotomies to militant black prisoners Struggle must be launched to win improved medical benefits for workers.

6. Help build an alliance among parents, teachers, and students to oppose racist textbooks, testing, and tracking in high schools, end police terror, and stop the overcrowding that makes the schools like jails.

7. Organize to defeat harrassment and racism directed against GIs. Support GI rebellions against the war. Help build the campaing to defend Pvt. Billy Dean Smith, a G.I. charged with "fragging" in an attempt by the brass to discourage all GIs from fighting to smash imperialism.

8. Build rank-and-file organizations in the communities to end rent control repeal, win improved low-income housing, stop skyrocketing mass transit costs, get rid of dope-pushers, and make our neighborhoods safe again by smashing the racist alliance between cops and crooks.

The time to fight is now! The politicians give us empty talk, then rob us blind and send us to die in bosses' wars. We need action—working-class action. We urge you to climb out of the liberal trap and join us in one or more of the above campaigns. Even if you decide to continue working for McGovern or to vote for him, try to join with others inside the campaign in fighting for anti-racist, pro-working class demands like a constitutional amendment for 30 for 40, an end to the wage freeze, the withdrawal of all U.S. troops and businesses from southeast Asia, and the abolition of racist textbooks in schools and colleges.

Write to tell us of fights you are involved in that we can join.

"Lesser" evil liberals and "greater" evil conservatives wear different masks to cover the same face. We have been fooled long enough by the bosses' four-year farce. Only a working class-led rank-and-file movement can win struggles such as those outlined above and go on to achieve socialism. Only united, militant, independent action—not boss-dominated elections—can bring about a decent society.

People's War in Puerto Rico

Much confusion prevails concerning the national and colonial questions, particularly with reference to Puerto Rico. We revolutionaries in Puerto Rico state emphatically that so far as we are concerned, independence and the dictatorship of the proletariat are one and the same thing. We envision no transitional period between private ownership and socialism. Therefore, we reject any type of alliance with the so-called "new" bourgeoisie, which is made up of U.S. lackeys. Like the old bourgeoisie, this "new" one should pay for its mortal sin of treason to our people.

If we are to have a real nation, then the territory on which we have historically developed must be truly common to all workers and their allies. Only collective socialist ownership of the means of production and the land can bring about this development. Under socialism, relations of production could convert themselves into social relations, and real national relations among the people could come from the psychology that emerged from these social relations. Collective ownership of the means of production would guarantee this development.

Even language can develop as a common possession of all the people only under the conditions of socialism. Under imperialism, the imperialists or their local stooges impose an "inferior" form of language upon the workers. Only under socialism are the workers able to cast off this yoke and overcome their cultural enslavement. Culture, as the conscience of society and the totality of the forms of expression available to that conscience, could become truly national only after the triumph of socialism. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat permits the complete flowering of culture in a nation previously oppressed by imperialism and local nationalists.

Our view of this question leads us to emphasize the role played by ideology. Communist ideas must govern every word and deed of our fight for independence: the most brilliant ideological clarity must shine upon all aspects of the struggle. Ideological clarity has been an historical necessity for all revolutionary movements. If in 1868, at the very moment it proclaimed independence, the revolutionary government of Lares was able to abolish slavery and the "notebook" system that maintained the so-called white "free" laborer in feudal servility, this development was possible only because the leaders of Lares understood the need for (bourgeois) ideological clarity: they knew that a capitalist society could not be built by slaves and feudal serfs.

After the bitter experiences of the international communist movement, we communists of today must not delude ourselves with half-baked notions about "two-stage" socialism or dilute our movement by making treacherous pre-socialist alliances with the mortal class enemies of working people and Marxism-Leninism. Ideological clarity in the fight for socialism means, above all, the absolute understanding that without the dictatorship of the proletariat, there can be no road away from capitalism, no road to socialism.

INTRODUCTION

On September 23rd, 1971, in a speech to a multi-organizational political meeting at Lares celebrating the 103rd anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence, I said:

"...The struggle for independence has a road to victory. It is true that electoral results have always been adverse to the struggle for independence. It is true that the military effort to free Puerto Rico at Lares[1] could not continue. The same was true at Yauco in 1897,[2] and in 1936,[3] and also in 1950.[4]

"But we say, with the revolutionary understanding we have acquired from the historical experience of all the peoples of the world, that there is a victorious road for independence. This is the road of People's War. One may ask: is Puerto Rico ready for People's War? Is it now correct to put forth from this platform the slogan of People's War as the main slogan in the struggle for independence? We maintain that the eventual ability to organize People's War depends upon the constant encouragement of the people's revolutionary spirit, the military spirit of the broad pro-independence masses of Puerto Rico."

And in the Proclamation **of the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena that was circulated in Jayuya to commemorate the 21st anniversary of the 1950 insurrection, we said:**

"With our floral offering of a red star upon the grave of Grisefio Torresola, we reaffirm our unreserved support of armed struggle as the only means of winning national independence and state sovereignty for Puerto Rico—independence that is national in form and socialist in content. We raise the victorious banner of March 11 along-side the fighting banner of October 30."

In the same Proclamation, **we also said: "If it is true that the pro-independence movement has gained ground, the factors previously mentioned do**

1. On September 23, 1868, the Republic of Puerto Rico was proclaimed at Lares under the political leadership of Dr. Ramon Ementerio Betanzas and the military leadership of Manuel Rojas.
2. The last peasant uprising against the Spanish colonial government took place at Yauco on March 24, 1897.
3. 1936 was the date of revolutionary mass action against the U.S. government that took place under the leadership of Pedro Albizu Campos.
4. In 1950, a Nationalist party uprising, involving several towns in Puerto Rico, took place. Part of this action included an assassination attempt against U.S. President Truman.

not suffice to explain this phenomenon. Twelve years of constant work by anti-electoral organizations were needed to help bring it about. This upsurge is the result of an anti-electoral front that should develop into a revolutionary front capable of leading People's War. And we promised:

"Soon, the LSP will publish its study of the problems of People's War in Puerto Rico. People's War is invincible. People's War is the victorious road to independence. Neither elections nor terrorism not putchism—People's War means victory for independence and socialism. Its prelude is called the 'Eleventh of March.'[5]"

PROBLEMS OF PEOPLE'S WAR IN PUERTO RICO

Petty-bourgeois sentimentality **seems** to permeate everything in Puerto Rico. Is this in fact true? In reality, sentimentality is a **lack** of profound sentiment; it is superficial and foolish, a puny disguise for class motivations. Despite its abnormal growth during the past 25 years, the petty bourgeoisie is really a minority of the Puerto Rican population. The immense majority—perhaps as much as 80%—are workers.

Nonetheless, the petty bourgeoisie has had and continues to have a major corrosive influence on the historical development of our country. True, practically all the **independentista** leadership has come from the petty-bourgeoisie; true, the petty-bourgeoisie is almost totally responsible for the literary, artistic, and scientific output of Puerto Rico: however, we do not retract our earlier statement that this intermediate sector of Puerto Rican society continues to exert a corrosive influence on the historical development of our country.

Its influence has been negative for many reasons. It has stamped its class seal upon our political life and to a great extent upon our literature and art. In politics, it has promoted class vacillation, mysticism, and the false, schizophrenic hope of autonomy without socialism. Even in the best sector of the independence movement, the petty bourgeoisie has swung like a pendulum between facile, illusory "patriotic" exultation and equally unfounded despair. In literature and art, this class has left its mark of pessimism, "drop outism," and impotence.

It may appear odd that we should begin our study of the problems of People's War in Puerto Rico with these remarks. We have felt compelled to undertake this discussion since we participated in the political events that took place at Lares last September. The discussion, like the struggle for independence and socialism, will not be easy. War is hard.

It is our sincere conviction that petty bourgeois sentimentality, which seems to permeate all Puerto Rican life, will pose a great obstacle to the development of revolutionary mass consciousness during the armed struggle for independence. Therefore, it is indispensible that we put sentimentality in its place from the very beginning.

For all its assumed self-importance, the petty bourgeoisie is nothing more than an instrument of the bourgeoisie, a tool used by imperialism against the working class. The capitalists use the petty bourgeoisie to transmit extravagant fantasies to the workers. The most pernicious of all these fantasies is so-called "social (read: class) peace." According to this absurd "concept," there can be harmonious relations between exploited and exploiters. Imperialism tries to disarm the working class ideologically by spreading this lethal poison among the masses and by lulling them into a docile acceptance of class domination.

Within the independence movement, this assault upon the revolutionary essence of the people cloaks itself in the "respectable" garb of patriotic solidarity. Nothing could be more deceitful.

The history of all mankind is the history of class struggle. The struggle for a people's sovereignty and national independence is a specific form of class struggle. This is **our** struggle, and if we do not learn this absolute truth, then the struggle we conduct for our independence and sovereignty will continue to pursue a false course.

The class struggle concerns those classes whose interests are mutually incompatible and absolutely contradictory. Marxism-Leninism has scientifically explained this struggle as the moving force in the development of all societies that are divided into antagonistic classes. It has proved that in bourgeois society, the class struggle necessarily leads to the revolutionary seizure of power by the working class, to civil war, and to the dictatorship of the proletariat, which has as its eventual objectives the elimination of all classes and the establishment of a classless communist society.

Patriotism is, according to Lenin, "one of the most profound sentiments held for centuries in millions of isolated homelands." But patriotism is not engendered by a mystical "national spirit" or "racial soul." It is produced by definite economic and social conditions. It is an historical phenomenon whose content varies from epoch to epoch. As a form of social consciousness, patriotism acquired special significance in the epoch of rising capitalism, when nations and nation-states were formed. But as class antagonisms developed and sharpened under capitalism, the hypocrisy of bourgeois patriotism became evident, and millions of workers learned that the true loyalty of the bourgeoisie belongs to itself as an international class against the workers of all countries.

We need not go into great detail to prove that this theory correctly explains the historical development of the struggle for independence in Puerto Rico. The treason of the creole capitalists is well known, along with their shameless surrender of all Puerto Rico to U.S. capital, their political submission to U.S. monopolies, their wicked alliance with foreign exploiters to bleed the Puerto Rican working class dry. What "patriotic solidarity" unites Em-

5. On March 11, 1971, a massive rebellion, involving thousands of students, attempted to drive the imperialist Reserve Officers' Training Corps out of the Rio Piedras campus of the University of Puerto Rico. The rebels fought a violent armed struggle with police, during the course of which the head of Puerto Rico's "anti-riot" squad, Colonel Mercado, was killed.

presas Ferre, the Serralles Brothers, the Mercados, the Trigos, the Calafs, the Carrions, etc. with the great exploited mass of workers in Puerto Rican factories, "haciendas," or offices? On the other hand, there can be no doubt of the political solidarity between these bosses and the Rockefellers, the Morgans, the owners of the great oil refineries, the major U.S. banking firms, the powerful transport and aviation firms, the ITT, the multimillionaire U.S. bondholders of so-called colonial "authorities" (Fuentes Fluviales, light; Acueductos y Alcantarillados, water; etc.), the automobile, rice, and newspaper monopolies.

The bourgeoisie's carefully nurtured illusion of "social peace" and "patriotic solidarity" between exploiters and exploited was invented to confuse and divert the broad working masses.

The lies of "social peace" and "patriotic solidarity" also give rise to the sentimentalist theory that Puerto Ricans should not fight among themselves. The Rio Piedras massacre was ordered by Colonel Riggs, an American. But who executed that order? Bienamino, Perez Segarra, Bonilla, etc. were all Puerto Ricans. They murdered Ramon Pagan, Pepito Santiago, Rodriguez Vega, and Pedro Quinones. The murder of Beauchamp and Rosado was ordered by Colonel Cole, a yankee, but the actual assassins, those who emptied their revolvers into these three men at police headquarters, were Puerto Ricans. The Ponce massacre originated in Washington. It was ordered from San Juan by General Winship, a yankee. But Colonel Orbeta and Captain Blanco, as well as all the other officers and cops, the Soldeviplas and Nenadichs, were born in the same land as their victims. Those who fired their machine guns in Jayuya and Utuado, those who murdered prisoners who had surrendered to them after a valiant combat, were Puerto Ricans. A Puerto Rican murdered Adrian Rodriguez and Antonia Martinez. On March 11, Colonel Mercado went to the University to kill students. The fact that he met with the fate he had intended to mete out is a hazard of the law of combat, the law that applies equally to nature and society: the most fit, not necessarily the strongest, survives. Those who surround us at meetings or on marches with guns in hand, ready to kill us without giving us the slightest opportunity to defend ourselves, are trained by the CIA and the FBI, but they were born in Puerto Rico.

The political parties that oppose independence, imperialism's "civilian" fronts like the "Lions" or the "Exchange," are led by Puerto Ricans. In the Selective Service offices, Puerto Ricans send their neighbors' sons off to be used as cannon fodder in imperialism's international slaughter houses.

The class struggle rages within the independence

May Day march in Puerto Rico , 1972

6. Fulanismo: personality politics.

7. Cipayeria: colonial sycophancy.

movement. Its classic forms are sectarianism and anti-communism. Its secondary forms are "fulanismo,"[6] slander, and informing. Yet not only are we all Puerto Ricans—we are also patriots!

Life demolishes the false sentimentalist theory of "patriotic solidarity" among all Puerto Ricans. A day will come when U.S. imperialism will have to send its own invading army to Puerto Rico, because the colonial **cipayeria**[7] will no longer have the strength to mobilize enough Puerto Rican cops and national guardsmen to murder Puerto Rican revolutionaries. But before that day comes, there will be many times in the struggle to free Puerto Rico from imperialism, national oppression, and class enslavement, when revolutionaries will have to face Puerto Rican servants of U.S. imperialism and Puerto Rican capitalism in a death-struggle.

One of the petty bourgeoisie's most hypocritical utterances is its whining, its "ay bendito," its "universal mourning," its "terrible preoccupation" with the injuries, mutilations, and deaths that may result from acts of revolutionary violence. None of these noble sentiments is expressed when our youth are sent to be slaughtered by yankee militarism in Korea or Vietnam. Nor are these utterances heard when the dead are **independentistas** like the taxi driver Adrian Rodriguez or the student Antonia Martinez, both murdered by police.

The **cipayeria** propaganda mongers' hypocritical "peaceful Puerto Rico" theory is further belied by the rate of crime in Puerto Rico. The homicide rate is high, and suicide occurs three times as much as homicide—not because of "rapid progress" or "the intense transformation of our society into a modern industrial society," as the purveyors of sociology-for-a-price claim, but because colonialism deforms the popular psyche and subjects the oppressed masses to extraordinary tensions.

The "patriotic solidarity" demanded of the working class is but a capitalist trick to divide workers among themselves. The only "patriotic solidarity" the working class needs is a commitment to conduct a revolutionary struggle for independence and, upon winning this struggle, to organize its own government, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Only People's War, the great iron forge of heroism, can bring about the true patriotic solidarity of all oppressed Puerto Ricans.

Here too the anti-ROTC struggle of March 11 serves as an accurate prelude to People's War. As we pointed out in EL SOCIALISTA on March 15, 1971, in the heat of combat against the imperialists and their stooges, sectarianism, anti-communism, and students of **all** patriotic organizations fought together with **esprit de corps,** like brothers and sisters in arms.

The Inequality of Forces

In 1899 an American military analyst named Coolidge stated that Puerto Rico would never pose a military problem to the U.S. His conclusion is a logical extension of the premise that the protection of U.S. armed forces will enable U.S. imperialism to do exactly as it pleases in Puerto Rico.

History has answered Coolidge. The imperialists wanted to destroy Puerto Rico through assimilation. They have been unable to do so.

This inability is history's answer to Coolidge's **conclusion.** The answer to his initial false **premise** has not as yet been given. It is People's War.

Coolidge's premise has been the nucleus of U.S. policy in Puerto Rico. This policy is based upon the inequality of forces between the invading and the invaded country. Throughout 73 years of U.S. colonialism, our people have been bombarded with the idea of inequality by all the weapons of public opinion—the schools, newspapers, radio, and TV. The idea had been germinating even before the U.S. conquest. The cultivation of defeatism was the favorite habit of conservatives and autonomists throughout the 19th century. It found willing encouragement from U.S. annexationism and espionage prior to 1898.

In developing revolutionary consciousness, we must make an in-depth analysis of this imperialist premise.

We can divide it into two parts. The first is the inequality of available manpower, the population of Puerto Rico versus the population of the U.S., the force of numbers the imperialists can command to crush Puerto Rico's military organization. The second part of the premise is imperialism's superior firepower, capable of rapidly silencing any insurrection in Puerto Rico.

Experience seems to confirm the premise. In Puerto Rico, the U.S. has been able to crush nationalist insurrections by mobilizing only partial sectors of its colonial forces. Yet even so, the 1950 Insurrection contributed greatly to the military experience of the Puerto Rican revolution when it proved beyond doubt that the colonial police force is impotent to deal with even a limited uprising.

Will the experiences of the past inevitably repeat themselves in the future? Colonial pessimism says **yes.** People's War says **no.**

The idea of People's War is inherent in Marxism. All Marxist theoreticians have dealt with the subject: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Vo Nguyen Giap, Ho Chi Minh, Mao Tse-tung, Mehmet Shehu, Kim Il-sung. All agree that People's War is invincible. Engels viewed the struggle waged by guerrillas during the U.S. War of Independence as the first example of People's War in modern times. The vicious circle of armed inequality between exploiter and exploited will end "...as soon as the masses of country and city workers have a will... corresponds to their class will," The great victorious leaders of People's War—Lenin, Giap, Shehu, Kim—won because, as socialists, they were able to help the broad working masses express their willingness to fight in **class** terms. People's Wars can achieve victory only under the red proletarian banner. History proves without fail that as soon as the rulers begin to fear the working masses, they attempt to abolish the concept of the people in arms and substitute for it the idea of a standing army, compulsory military service, and a corresponding military hierarchy.

The false theory of the inequality of forces collapses when one compares the present imperialist puppet army to the active military potentiality of the aroused Puerto Rican masses. If the subjective factor of revolutionary consciousness were developed to its maximum capacity, Puerto Rico could

have no less than 100,000 soldiers in day-to-day combat with the imperialist army. The revolutionary soldier will live under the protection of his people; he will eat what the poor of his country eat; he will dress however he can; and **he will be as well armed as the best-equipped imperialist soldier,** for he will seize his weapons from the enemy army. He needs no salaries, bribes, Bob Hope shows, drugs, or prostitutes to sustain his morale. As People's War develops, corresponding demoralization will set in among the imperialist troops, who will see themselves fighting a losing battle, constantly surrounded by enemies, and forced to fight without letup or rest.

Puerto Rico's small territorial size and dense population will help significantly in developing revolutionary consciousness. They will also serve as factors in demoralizing the imperialist soldiers. In the rising struggle for patriotic salvation, the people will blend into its own territory; people and people's soldier will unite in one social entity: one will protect the other. On the other hand, the imperialist soldier, isolated, harassed, panic-stricken, will react in such a way as to promote revolutionary unity among the people. The enemy will fight as a minority and always on the defensive. We will be the majority and always fight on the offensive.

One potential argument against the military victory of the Puerto Rican revolution is the difficulty implicit in Puerto Rico's existence as an island dominated economically by U.S. monopolies. Can the imperialists, having destroyed our agricultural production, prevent us from acquiring food and supplies by air or sea; in short, can they turn Puerto Rico into a beseiged garrison and force it to surrender by waging a war of famine against it? A simple strike by U.S. maritime workers cuts most Puerto Ricans off from their food supply: the conscious counterrevolutionary efforts of the imperialists to starve us out appear in this context as a horrible phantom, a sword of Damocles hanging over our heads.

Yet such a development is **only** a phantom, easily dissipated by reality. History proves that this is so.

On Saturday, March 6, 1943, I reported the following facts in the New York newspaper **Pueblos Hispanos:**

People in Puerto Rico were starving. Using the German submarine blockade as an excuse, the U.S. deliberately allowed a state of famine to exist in Puerto Rico. The U.S. government argued that because of its military situation, not one single ship was available to carry food to Puerto Rico. Yet rice rations for the civilian population had been reduced to two pounds weekly per family.

While this situation prevailed in Puerto Rico, the U.S. government was sending $1 million worth of food to Martinique every month.

Martinique was governed by the French admiral Roberts. The island belonged to the collaborationist Vichy government headed by Pierre Lavall, who was to be executed by DeGaulle's firing squad when the war ended. In addition, Martinique was a base of operations for the same German submarines that sank U.S. ships and blockaded Puerto Rico. Nonetheless the U.S. government continued to assert that it had no ships available to send food to Puerto Rico and at the same time sent $1 million worth of food every month to the Laval-Hitlerites

in Martinique.

Ferdinand Smith, a native Jamaican who had become a naturalized U.S. citizen and who was at the time general secretary of the N.M.U., provided us with these facts. He also gave us detailed information about ships waiting to sail in convoy to Europe, which had plenty of time available to make a round trip to Puerto Rico and still not depart for Europe a minute behind schedule.

Our report in **Pueblos Hispanos** was confirmed by Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles. It spread like wildfire through El Barrio and the Puerto Rican neighborhoods in the Bronx and Brooklyn. The Institucion Penolana called an emergency meeting, as did numerous Puerto Rican social clubs, the then-powerful Workers' Spanish Club, and Latin-American IWO lodges. In El Barrio and along Prospect Avenue in the Bronx, there were threats of mutiny.

The weak complaints of the colonial legislature, scornfully unheeded until then, all of a sudden came to the attention of the masters in Washington. Special air transportation was provided so that a legislative commission could come to Washington to beg for help. In a matter of hours, the commission was in Washington; in a matter of hours, the problem was solved. The first food convoy left immediately for Puerto Rico. The mobilization of Puerto Ricans in New York—and most particularly, the threat of rebellion by workers in El Barrio and on Prospect Avenue—had saved the day.

The U.S. government had imposed a state of famine on Puerto Rico as a deliberate act of imperialist terrorism, a move to thwart the pro-independence sentiment of the Puerto Rican people. 1943 was the year that Pedro Albizu Campos left prison (although he could not return to Puerto Rico until 1947). In 1943, the majority of nationalist leaders in federal prison were coming to the end of their sentences. In 1943, the first Pro-Independence Congress brought together 20,000 Puerto Ricans; and the second Congress in 1944 would be even larger. The CGT (Confederacion General de Trabajadores), a pro-independence trade union federation that led 250,000 workers, had merged with the Confederacion de Trabajadores de America Latina (CTAL), which was to count a membership of 4,000,000 workers in 1944. Seventy thousand Puerto Rican youths had been forced to bear imperialist arms, but they were to return home after the war ready to fight for independence. The government knew this, because its censors read their mail. The hour of imperialism's victory in World War II was nearly at hand. Reluctant to drop the atomic bomb on white Germans, the racist U.S. government preferred to delay its victory by reserving this fate for the Japanese. U.S. imperialism tried in the most blatant way to convince Puerto Ricans that it had the power of life and death over them.

Yet a small gesture on the part of Puerto Ricans in New York City was enough to stop imperialist terror in Puerto Rico.

Today the Puerto Rican population in the U.S. numbers nearly one and a half million. The children and grandchildren of Puerto Ricans feel a deep bond with the country of their elders. Their militancy against capitalist oppression increases every day. The overwhelming majority of them are workers, the children and grandchildren of workers. Reality will impose itself upon their consciousness and they will show international working class solidarity with the struggle in Puerto Rico. They will fight alongside the 1,600,000 workers who comprise 80% of Puerto Rico's population.

Puerto Rican proletarian power is an indispensible economic fact of life in several major U.S. cities. In New York, for example, racism, which forces Puerto Ricans into the worst paid jobs, also makes them the arbiters of the food business, which they can paralyze whenever they see fit. There are 10,000 Puerto Rican workers in Buffalo's steel industry. Whole crops of grapes and vegetables can be lost if Puerto Rican workers walk off the job.

The population of Mexican extraction in the U.S. numbers 10,000,000. Its anticapitalist militancy and class consciousness grow with each passing day. Most of these 10,000,000 are superexploited workers who have suffered decades of humiliation and oppression at the hands of imperialism. They too will act in solidarity with their Puerto Rican class brothers.

The same may be said of Afro-American workers, the third group of the trio of superexploited workers in the U.S. Their militancy will increase as they grasp the truth that as workers united by the class struggle with all other workers, they are invincible. When the intensity of the struggle in Puerto Rico reaches their consciousness, Afro-American workers will mobilize to defend People's War in Puerto Rico.

Finally, workers of all extraction and national origin, the broad mass of millions and millions of American workers, will join in solidarity with People's War in Puerto Rico when they understand that the same bosses who exploit them also exploit the workers of Puerto Rico.

All these forces will unite to prevent the imperialists from smashing the revolution in Puerto Rico or waging a war of famine against it.

One may ask: what solidarity can the revolution in Puerto Rico expect from those workers in the U.S. who do not think like revolutionaries? We answer: what interests have the Puerto Ricans on the mainland in seeing their relatives in Puerto Rico starve to death? There is a real basis for mobilizing Puerto Ricans in the U.S. to fight against the imperialist government's eventual intention of starving out People's War in Puerto Rico.

The magnitude and ferocity that the struggle of Puerto Ricans in the U.S. will attain will spread throughout the proletariat. The international working class, in the U.S., in Puerto Rico, and elsewhere, will refute forever Coolidge's pedantic "premise." Puerto Rico will give the U.S. ruling class much greater military problems than even their wisest prophets have predicted.

An authentic revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement in the U.S., led by a true party of the working class that helps organize the spontaneous militant solidarity felt by Puerto Rican workers for their class brothers and sisters in Puerto Rico, is of tremendous importance to colonial Puerto Rico. The Progressive Labor Party, the Puerto Rican Socialist League, and their close ties with

each other, are of vital importance to the proletariat of both countries. The struggle for the defense of the Puerto Rican revolution requires a vanguard party that will act as a general staff for the U.S. working class. In the U.S., proletarians are those who live by selling their labor power, no matter what their national or ethnic origin. Between the exploited and the exploiters in the U.S. there is not and should never be any relationship other than class war. PLP has defined its Marxist position by asserting that its communist duties and loyalties place it not beside the monopolies and the Pentagon, but beside the international proletariat. PLP holds the outlook of converting any international war between the U.S. imperialist government and another government into a civil war for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of workers' power. To defend People's War in Puerto Rico by giving revolutionary leadership to the broad masses of workers in the U.S. thus forms part of its great duty to the international proletariat.

We have made an in-depth study of the Algerian experience, but we differ from it in our orientation towards the mobilization of the working masses in the imperialist country. This mobilization, in the form of demonstrations, protests, strikes, etc., will undoubtedly make the war of liberation less protracted.

The international proletarian relationship between the workers of the colony and the workers of the imperialist country is a basic point of Leninist strategy. In our view, the struggle to win over the enemy's soldiers (part of any revolutionary strategy for warfare with a bourgeois army) will remind the government in Washington that "its" own soldiers are workers, and that they can and will come to identify their interests with the interests of the workers oppressed by imperialism. This process has already taken place to a limited extent in Vietnam. If the process did not develop further in Vietnam, this was so because People's War was stifled and transformed into war for negotiations, exactly at the moment when the imperialist army was about to degenerate into complete demoralization, the moment when revolutionary leadership could have helped begin its transformation into a proletarian army.

Constant in-fighting on the small Puerto Rican territory will bring about an almost total confusion between the two armies. The "regular" army will see its fire-power diminish, for in order to bombard the people's militia, it will have to fire on its own troops. The air force and artillery will become useless. The most terrifying of the imperialist army's street weapons, the tank, may become an impotent hippopotamus. This war has no front because it is fought on all fronts. It is governed by a strategy that involves every aspect of life and keeps its trumps well-hidden; by tactics that can hit and run any time, anywhere; and by logistics that come from both the people and the enemy.

The corpses were still rigid and the guns still smoking when we saluted the revolutionary victory of March 11 on the Rio Piedras campus of the University of Puerto Rico. We saw that historic event as a prelude to People's War. It seemed to us to trace in its own outline the general lines of this invincible instrument of revolutionary struggle. We wrote these words in the heat of those stupendous memories.

However, our enthusiasm does not lead us to conclude that People's War is child's play or that the final victory will be even as easy as it was on March 11. We must have no illusions about war or about the long painful road ahead, the failures, humiliations, imprisonments, exiles, disillusionments, betrayals, blood, tears, and deaths that filled the long years leading up to the victory of March 11, 1971. Historically, March 11, 1971 revokes October 24, 1935.[8] This is why we repeat that "the development of the consciousness of the masses continues to be, as always, the basis and the principal content of all our work."

In conclusion, I repeat the words I spoke at Lares and quoted in the introduction to these notes: "One may ask: is Puerto Rico ready for People's War? Is it now correct to put forth from this platform the slogan of People's War as the main slogan in the struggle for independence? We maintain that the eventual ability to organize People's War depends upon the constant encouragement of the people's revolutionary spirit, the military spirit of the broad pro-independence masses of Puerto Rico."

A long road lies ahead in the struggle. The struggle will allow no truce, but it cannot be rushed. If we are to win, we must cast aside anxiety, desperation, hopelessness, and exhibitionism, along with all methods that are not revolutionary and all thought that is not Marxist. Only in this way can we march onward toward the conquest of independence and the organization of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The organization of workers' power demands the prior development of the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena to a level of efficiency required by its high revolutionary objectives. Our prime purpose is not merely to make a war and organize an army, nor is it to build a party that organizes and leads the army. The point is that the party that organizes and leads the army must be Marxist-Leninist. The army is an armed instrument that carries out the political tasks of the revolution, under the leadership of the party.

Titanic work, gigantic effort, proletarian stoicism, contempt for death, joy in struggle, pride in watching the new society rise on the horizon of every day, the new man, the future man for all time to come, communist humanity—this is what awaits us. For this we work. Toward this we go.

8. On October 24, 1935, the police massacred members of the Nationalist Party on the Rio Piedras campus of the University of Puerto Rico.

Whataya, new here? I thought so.

Ah, Florence! Mia Cara! And you.

What? Oh, that guy unscrews these skids from the car body. Then when the overhead takes the body across, those arms throw them skids onto the hooks, and the hooks take them back to the rack to be used again.

I could think of no lovlier place for my—for our villa. Italia. I love it—away from the pressures of this or that factory. People grasping at you with their troubles every day. It's hard being the man at the top. You: another. More gin.

Unsafe! You kiddin'? Look how thick the skids are—like girders, am I right? Every now and then one end slips off and those arms just grab the skid and twist it into a pretzel. Yeah. Hey Bill! Watch out for the overhead—the body don't look like its on too tight.

Lovely, Hmmm? Of course you. But I mean the art of Florence. Yes, this whole wingful is new. No, my secretary did, but he knows what I like. He got a lot of it after that flood a few years ago. Dead? Oh yes, I do remember some people died then, too. Dreadful. Yes, I gave a memorial plaque for the poor souls.

No, no one's got hurt, but that's not the company's fault. There's no safety control. Months ago I put in a safety suggestion. See, you can't stop the cycle till the arms stop spinning.

> 'I'm not sure we can keep them at each other's throats much longer, sir...'

Anyway. Art's an investment function these days like everything else. Even when the artist's unknown—in fact, it's better when he's unknown. Well, if he's unknown he may become famous. There's the point of acquisition. Dear, it doesn't matter if it's good art—it doesn't even matter if I think it's good art. Look. I invest say twenty thousand in a gross of paintings and sculptures. Survival of the fittest—in a few years the critics will be quite clear about what is art and what was bad and inferior. And I'll sell the garbage off—probably at a profit. Oh, to people who still buy Andy Warhol, while I've divested, for example.

Anyway, the rest will be valued at a much greater figure than my original investment. Then I sell, or hold on for capital gains. The way I see it, this is the function of art and of artists. I like to think of it as helping young people with their careers.

The suggestion? They sent it back, said it wasn't worth anything—like I was trying to make some money off keeping people from being hurt—that's the way they think. One of the engineers told me I was right, but he said it was his ass if he spoke up.

Don't be silly, I don't buy art for the profit. But it doesn't hurt. You didn't marry me because grandfather built the Model-T and an empire. Watch it. Here comes the foreman, better start sweeping, look busy.

Ha ha! Exactly—that didn't hurt either. Hmmm? Oh I was just thinking. I wish they'd let the man take the woman's title. Count Henry. Or better—Baron Henry. Joking? Of course I'm joking. But it doesn't sound bad—does it?

He's nothing. A name, We don't need him at all if nothing goes wrong. Relax, he won't be back for a while. You kiddin'? What do you think those white shirts do but bust our ass? If there's a breakdown he runs for the phone: Hello, get a maintenance man here quick. What's that—work? If he broke the finger he dials with, they'd probably lay him off. I wish they'd automate those bastards!

Let's go out to the pool. Mario: The Contessa's towel, when you bring the drinks.

Me fix a breakdown? Sure, I could do it. But I won't. Hold on a second, kid. I'm gonna give you good advice. They pay you to run a machine, run a machine. They pay a couple dollars more to fix the machine, fix it. No, no. That's the way things are. One of the guys asks me for a favor and I can do it, I do it. I don't think about it. The man's like me—there's no owe or have to about it. The company pays me three forty-nine an hour, hundred twenty-two a week take home. I'm gonna give them extra? I kiss no ass. Let them worry about it, they got all the

money.

Oh, it's so green—and smell the air. Look at those people going into that lovely little church. You Italians **live**—you don't just run around like the Americans. That will be all, Mario. It took you long enough with the drinks. Darling, it's like paradise here.

Hold it, I'll be right back. Have to get some water.

How does your drink taste, dear? Mine too. Mario! Now!

Fast? I don't know, I haven't thought about it for so long. You get used to it. Sure you will. It must've taken a month before I could get to the water fountain and back before the next car moved up. I was just starting on the night shift, tired all the time. But you get used to it.

Mario, these drinks are putrid. Bring some more—and if you can't make it right, find me someone who can.

You get used to anything. Standing on your feet, walking back and forth all night, the stink in the air. Looking at car after car, thinking they'll never stop, they're always there—I used to have dreams. But one thing. Don't get used to them tryina give you no crap. They keep trying, just don't take it. See that guy Tommy over there? No, not the **nigger**—the black guy. Yeah, that's **just** how I feel! Wait a minute. I'm sorry I yelled. It's just I look at you and I see me before I wised up. Years back. I started here, wasn't even in the so-called union yet, the foreman tried to make me do two jobs and also steal my relief time. Tommy come up, he told the foreman, "You leave that boy alone, mother. The parking lot's big and dark. Mess with that boy and I'll bust your whole arm when we get outside." No, I'd never even noticed him before—that's what I **mean**. He didn't even talk to me for a while after that. Then he said something.

I wasn't using any **tone** on him. He doesn't **move** quickly enough. Except when it's time to go home to his house full of—Darling, servants are always like that—**especially** when you're not sure they mean anything by it. Look at it this way, have you ever heard me speak any differently to one of them in America? See! I think the **world** of Italians. We have some boys in Chicago—Oh nothing. Mmmm, feel the sun. Makes you believe in God. And I love **you**, too, dear.

He said he didn't know what I thought about him and he didn't care. But if we're going to work ten feet from each other, we face the same kind of crap. You're damn right. When Tommy said that to me, a whole lot of things made sense all of a sudden—and a whole lot of things were stupid and lousy. Black and white. I'd never thought. I got to reading and talking. You asked why I wouldn't help a foreman. Who's he to me? I've known the man for years and I wouldn't think of trusting him. But any worker here, except for the finks and scabs—he's just like me. You don't see?

DARLING! WHY DON'T YOU SWIM! I LOVE WATCHING YOU SWIM!

It's not a question of how I feel. It's a question of **us against them**. Not the foremen—they're punks, flunkies. I mean the men on top. That's right. Yeah, like I said I been reading, and—Commie?

YES, YES, DIVE! MARIO—ANOTHER BLOODY MARY!

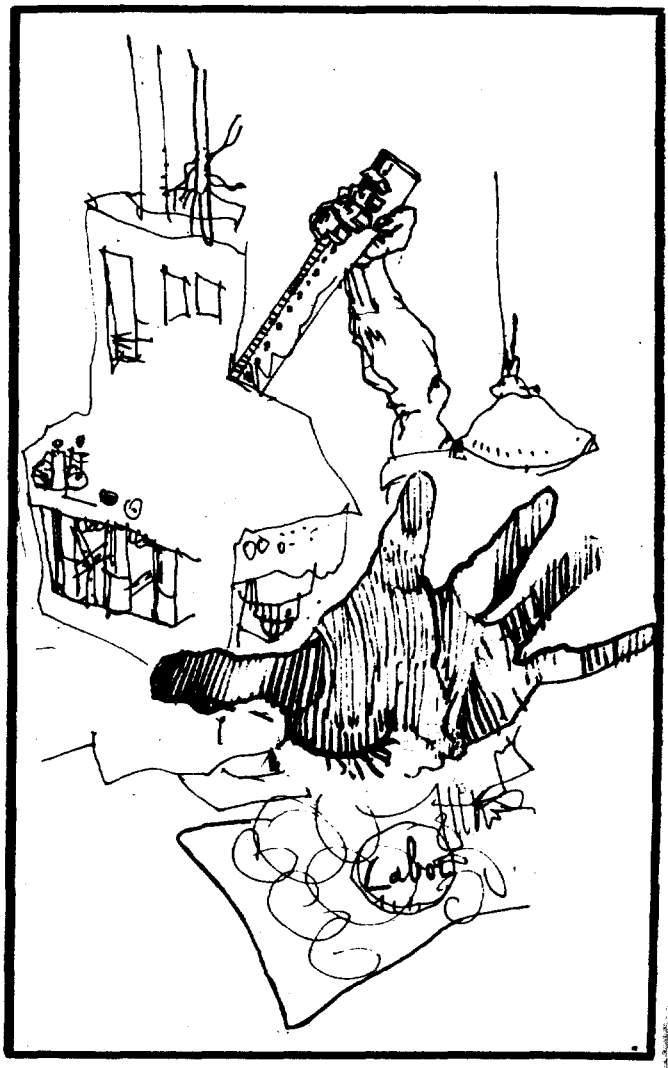
Yeah, kid, you're right. That's where I wound up. And you know who else is a commie? You, kid. Ha! You don't know it—you still believe all the crap you've read. But ask yourself—

MARIO, GODDAMN YOU! WHERE ARE YOU! —is what I'm saying a lie? You ever work for a boss who didn't shaft you one way or the other? Damn right—Oh crap. Just a minute. I gotta call the foreman. Hold ya ears, this air whistle'll bust your eardrums.

There you are. What kind of damn vodka are you using? It spoils the whole thing. Get the Russian vodka.

Yeah, the skid fell off. I don't know **how** it fell off and I don't give a damn. That's your problem, Megher. I called you, you take care of it. Rough being a foreman, ain't it? Why don't **you** fix it? Wait a minute! Hey, you can't make this kid do that. Because it's dangerous—because he's not supposed to and he don't know how to. Maintenance is supposed to handle that. Don't give me that crap. Call the union down here, we'll see if he's supposed to—I know he doesn't have seniority. He doesn't have experience either—No, kid, listen. I'm not tryina get you in trouble. This bastard—yes, I said bastard, you bastard—is tryina get you to do something you ain't supposed to. If you—

DARLING, SWIM OVER HERE. I CAN'T HEAR



| YOU—A PLANE OR SOME AWFUL NOISE, EVEN HERE IN FLORENCE. NO, LOUDER, LOUDER! –do this, he'll have you doing anything. At least wait for the union. Kid—Listen, at least—You won't listen. Well, kid, it's up to you.

| Nervous? No, why? No, I just couldn't hear you too well. Here's your towel. Was the water warm? Maybe I will. Yes I think I will. After this drink. Same to you, Megher. He'll be back in a minute, kid. I **told** you what I thought. Of course he **ordered** you, but whatayou, his slave? Politics? I'm not—Yes, I guess it is politics. You're right, kid—even if you don't think so. The union? Forget it. It's not OUR union any more. It works for THEM – the damn company. No? (You never seen them at work yet, you'll see. AGAINST unions?! Kid. I'm for US runnin' the union, not the union runnin' us! But the way things are now, you file a grievance and sit down with the two men from the company, only they tell you one is your union rep. The foreman's coming back. Now listen, kid, this is dangerous. When you crawl into that space, make sure you watch for—What? It's none of your business what I'm saying, Megher.

| I'm finishing it now. Darling, I wish **you'd** make the drinks. This Bloody Mary doesn't taste like it's got tomato juice in it. Really, Mario's getting worse and worse. I have to cut excess people. Because it's bad business. No, his family's really no concern to me. No, it's reality.

Hey kid, watch for the—Megher, you bastard, stop the line! He hit one of the starting triggers—the arm grabbed him. Tommy, keep away, it'll knock you down too. Oh listen to his screamin'! It's got his leg! Megher stop it, **please**. You don't stop it I'm gonna kill—There's no way to stop it—

| HERE I GO! COME ON, DARLING, LET'S JUMP IN TOGETHER! COME, LET'S JUMP IN, SPLASH IT ALL OVER EACH OTHER AND YELL AND DROWN OUT **EVERYTHING**!

We can't **stop** it! The arm's got to go all the way around. The cycle. The cycle, Tommy, the cycle! And-and-and it can't do it. **It can't do it till it works through his—**

| ISN'T THIS MARVELOUS? WHAT? LOUDER! I CAN'T HEAR YOU!

It went through his leg. It tore his leg off. Tommy, they wouldn't put in a lousy ten dollar switch so he—What? You guys didn't see what happened. It's a new kid—the foreman threatened him and . . . and—Look at him. **Listen** to him! Here comes the meat wagon. They haven't even stopped the main line. You guys! Get off your jobs! Come here. Listen . . . I gotta . . . LISTEN . . . LISTEN—I GOTTA TELL YOU. You gotta know. I wish he'd stop **screamin'**! No—No, it's better for you to hear that. Listen to that kid **and to me. Right now. You gotta know. It don't matter if you don't believe me yet, you gotta hear** it anyway. When they come, they're gonna try to shut me up, they're gonna try to make more cars. Right, Tommy? First guy moves away got trouble. Gotta tell you. I gotta—Listen Now.

(Based on an incident at Ford Mahwah plant, 1968)

Progressive Labor, v. 8, no. 5 (Aug. '72)

INTRODUCTION TO *Whither China?*

The document which follows is the most elaborate account of the views of the Left in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution—GPCR—which we have been able to find. It is a report of Hunan Provincial Proletarian Revolutionary Great Alliance—"Sheng-wu-lien," from the initials of these words—and was apparently drafted on January 9, 1968. It appeared in a Canton tabloid two weeks later, showing the close connections which the Left in Hunan had established with their colleagues in Kwangtung. Also, members of "Sheng-wu-lien" were accused by the Central leaders, in speeches in Peking in January, of forming close ties with Leftists in the "May 16 Corps" of Peking.

The report reveals both the strengths and weaknesses of the Left. There is a clear analysis of the class situation, the holding of state power by a "red" bourgeoisie, the policies and ideological weaknesses which led up to the overthrow of proletarian dictatorship and the steps which would be necessary in order that the proletarian forces come back into power.

But there is also the contradictory aspect of apologetics for Mao. Even where all the official statements had clearly expressed views opposed to the Left, such as on the "cadre question," the authors of Whither China? persist in ascribing their own views to Mao and hoping that he would break with the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) and put himself at the head of a new "Mao Tse-tung Thought" Party. The pernicious effect of years of the Mao cult is operating here.

There are many indications, however, that some Leftists had broken through this mystification. Whither China? refers to "ultras" within its own ranks who opposed a stage-by-stage conception of the GPCR and apparently did not buy the rationalization that Mao's Centrist concessions to the enemy were really necessary strategic retreats by a master revolutionary leader who shared the ultimate goals of the left. The materials put out by conservative Red Guard organizations attacking the Left refer repeatedly to attacks on Mao and Lin Piao emanating from their enemies. So far, however, Whither China? is the best we have to go on and a careful analytical reading of it will verify our position and reveal the weaknesses which led the Chinese Left to defeat.

'Whither China?'

Note: This draft solicits your opinions on the following questions. Is it appropriate to announce it publicly at present? May it serve as the "Inaugural Declaration of the 'Ultra-Left' Commune?" How should it be further revised? Please write your opinions on the right-hand margin of each page and return this draft to the issuing source before the 20th.

A soldier of the Steel 319 Corps,
"Seize Military Power" of Sheng-wu-lien,
First Middle School, Red Rebel Committee.
January 12, 1968

When the counteroffensive in the struggle against the adverse current reached July, August and September [of 1967], the people of the whole country had a sense of vigorous growth, believing that there was hope of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution being "carried through to the end," and that all traditional ideas that fettered the mind of the people would be cast aside. However, an adverse current of counterrevolutionary reformism appeared after October at the upper levels and descended below. An atmosphere of class compromise [in place of class struggle], calling for "an end to the first cultural revolution," suddenly became intense. Again, the people of the whole country were bewildered. The educated youth and students in particular, being extra sensitive, were the first to feel it. Again, questions were asked. What shall we do? Whither China? The establishment of the "Ultra-Left" Commune was for the sake, first of all, of answering this solemn question.

To answer this question correctly, it is necessary earnestly to sum up the very rich experience and lessons brought forth since 1967 by the greatest revolution in history, principally the experience of great significance created by the "January Storm" and the "August partial domestic revolutionary war" [in later sections of this essay, this is usually referred to as the "August Storm"; for convenience, this shorter term will be used in this translation].

(1) The Scientific Prediction

Contemporary China is the focus of world contradictions, and the center of the storm of world revolution. As regards this crucially important subject of where China is going, the great teacher of the world proletariat, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has outwardly made only an abstract prediction.

Just before the world-shaking Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was to rise from the east with the force of a thunderbolt, Chairman Mao, with his

great all-embracing proletarian feelings, announced to the world that China's first Marxist big-character poster "is the manifesto of the Peking Peoples Commune in the 1960's" [PR, No. 6 (February 3, 1967), p. 13]. It was these words that announced the official beginning of the vehement development among the masses of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. These words also showed that Chairman Mao "wisely and with genius foresaw the emergence of a brand-new situation in our state organs" (*Red Flag*, No. 3, 1967, editorial), that is, political organs of the Paris Commune type. In the January Revolution, Chairman Mao again proposed the name "Peoples Commune of China." That meant that, as an ultimate result of the first Great Cultural Revolution, China would advance in the direction of a "Peoples Commune of China."

However, because the revolution had developed at the time only to a very low level, historical limitations enabled almost no one to understand the ultimate goal of the first Cultural Revolution as pointed out by Chairman Mao. People regarded this statement of Chairman Mao as words of general praise and gradually forgot it.

Even before the Cultural Revolution officially began, Chairman Mao, in his famous May 7 Directive [1966, in PR, No. 32 (August 5, 1966), pp. 6–7: sections in bold type], had already depicted the contents of this new type of political structure—the "Peoples Commune of China." But people in general regarded the sketch in the May 7 Directive as an idealistic "communist utopia." Everyone thought that it was not practical to take the May 7 directive as the immediate goal of our recent struggle. At present it is only part of the educated youth that keep reciting the May 7 Directive, and loudly declare that they want to fight for realization of the May 7 Directive. They realize that only the new society sketched in the May 7 Directive, which is different from the existing society, is the society in which they will gain liberation. But even among the educated youth, there are many who think it impractical to realize in the near future the kind of society described in the May 7 Directive. It is truer to say that their energetic publicity about the May 7 Directive is self-consolation for their dissatisfaction with reality, than it is to say that they are striving with full faith for the realization of the May 7 Directive.

Chairman Mao's scientific prediction has left a utopian impression in people's minds. This is in accord with the fact that class struggle has not yet developed to an acute and high stage. The development of new productive forces in China today has brought into conflict the class that represents the new productive forces [presumably the proletariat, the representative of which Sheng-wu-lien claims to be] and the decaying class that represents [old] production relations which impede the progress of history. [Probable meaning: the present Red bourgeoisie, which still represents the old (i.e., capitalist) production relations, prevents the proletariat from exercising its self-government which would correspond to the new (i.e., socialist) production relations.] Moreover, it will lead inevitably to a great social revolution, and a new society will inevitably be born amid the fierce flames. This objective law is the solid basis for Chairman Mao's scientific—not utopian—prediction. At present, people do not yet understand this law. It is natural, therefore, that this scientific predic-

tion has left people with the impression of being purely a utopian dream of the beautiful future? People believe that China will pass peacefully into the society depicted in the May 7 Directive.

What is the reality? "Peaceful transition" is only another name for "peaceful evolution." It can only cause China to drift farther and farther away from the "Commune" depicted in the May 7 Directive, and nearer and nearer to the existing society of the Soviet Union [which Sheng-wu-lien abhors]. What Chairman Mao puts forward, i.e., "revolution in which one class overthrows another" and "a great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries to seize power from the capitalist-roaders," solves the question of practical transition toward the commune. The rule of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie must be overthrown by force in order to solve the problem of political power. Empty shouting about realization of the May 7 Directive, without any reference to power seizure and complete smashing of the old state machinery, will truly be the "utopian" dream.

(2) The January Revolutionary Storm

Lenin once made this famous statement: "Any revolution, as long as it is a true revolution, is, in the final analysis, a change of class. Therefore, the best means of heightening the awareness of the masses and exposing the deception of the masses with revolutionary vows, is to analyze the class changes that have taken place or are taking place in the revolution." Let us follow this teaching and make an analysis of the class changes which took place in the January Revolution, so as to expose the deception of the masses with revolutionary promises.

As everybody knows, the greatest fact of the January Revolution was that 90 per cent of the senior cadres [of the Party] were made to stand aside. In Hunan, Chang P'ing-hua, Chang Po-shen, Hua Kuo-feng and the like had their power reduced to zero. At the Center [Peking], power seizure [by representatives of the Cultural Revolution] took place in the Ministry of Finance, the Radio Broadcasting Administration Bureau and other departments; and the power of people like Li Hsien-nien, Ch'en Yi, T'an Chen-lin, as well as that of Chou En-lai who represented them, was greatly diminished. Into whose hands did the assets go at that time? They went into the hands of the people, who were full of boundless enthusiasm, and who were organized to take over the urban administrations and the Party, government, financial and cultural powers in industry, commerce, communications, and so forth. What the editorial had called for was truly realized, i.e., that "the masses should rise and take hold of the destiny of their socialist country and themselves administer the cities, industry, communications, and finance."

The storm of the January Revolution turned all this within a very short time from the hands of the bureaucrats into the hands of the enthusiastic working class. Society suddenly found, in the absence of bureaucrats, that they could not only go on living, but could live better and develop quicker and with greater freedom. It was not at all like the intimidation of the bureaucrats who, before the revolution, had said: "Without us, production would collapse, and the society would fall into a state of hopeless confusion."

As a matter of fact, without the bureaucrats and bureaucratic organs, productivity was greatly liberated. After the Ministry of the Coal Industry fell, production of coal went on as usual. The Ministry of Railways fell, but transportation was carried on as usual. All departments of the provincial Party committees fell, but the various branches of their work went on as usual. Moreover, the working class were greatly liberated in their enthusiasm and initiative for production. The management of industrial plants by the workers themselves after January was impressive. For the first time, the workers had the feeling that "it is not the state which manages us; but we who manage the state." For the first time, they felt that they were producing for themselves. Their enthusiasm had never been so high, and their sense of responsibility as masters of the house had never been so strong. Changsha Weaving and Spinning Mill and other factories also created rebel working-groups and countless other new things. [According to information reaching the outside world from Shanghai, the situation there was far from happy at this time and was reflected in workers' criticisms of changes enforced by the Red Guards.]

This was the true content of the class changes in the January Revolution. As a matter of fact, in this short period some places realized, though not very thoroughly, the content of the "Peoples Commune of China." The society found itself in a state of "mass dictatorship" similar to that of the Paris Commune. The January Storm told people that China would go toward a society which had no bureaucrats, and that 90 per cent of the senior cadres had already formed a privileged class. The objective law of the development of class struggle caused the majority of them to stand aside in January. The fact that 90 per cent of the senior cadres had to stand aside in the storm of the January Revolution was certainly not an error by the "masses." "The masses are the real heroes." Those who committed the most serious crimes were duly punished: "very few received undue punishment."

Facts as revealed by the masses, and the indignation which they brought forth, first told the people that this class of "Red" capitalists had entirely become a decaying class that hindered the progress of history. The relations between them and the people in general had changed from relations between leaders and the led, to those between rulers and the ruled and between exploiters and the exploited. From the relations between revolutionaries of equal standing, it had become a relationship between oppressors and the oppressed. The special privileges and high salaries of the class of "Red" capitalists were built upon the foundation of oppression and exploitation of the broad masses of the people. In order to realize the "Peoples Commune of China," it was necessary to overthrow this class.

The January Revolutionary Storm was a great attempt by the revolutionary people, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, to topple the old world and build a new world. The program of the first great proletarian political [sic!] revolution was formulated at that great moment. Chairman Mao stated: "This is one class overthrowing another. This is a great revolution." This shows that the Cultural Revolution is not a revolution of dismissing officials or a movement of dragging out people, nor a purely cultural revolution, but is "a revolution in which one class overthrows another." With relation to

the facts of the January Revolutionary Storm, the overthrown class is none other than the class of "bureaucratism" formed in China in the last 17 years. . . .

There is no place here for reformism—combining two into one—or peaceful transition. The old state machinery must be utterly smashed. "Completely smash the old exploitative system, the revisionist system, and the bureaucratic organs." . . .

The problems of system, policy, and guideline touched upon in the January Revolution mainly concerned such capitalist systems of labor employment as contracted labor and temporary labor, as well as the revisionist movement of going to the mountainous areas and the countryside.

At present, the "Ultra-Left" must organize people to sum up and to study properly the multitude of things created by the January Revolutionary Storm. These new things are the embryonic form of a new society of the Paris Commune type.

(3) The Revolutionary Committees

Why did Chairman Mao, who strongly advocated the "commune," suddenly oppose the establishment of the "Shanghai Peoples Commune" in January? This is something which the revolutionary people find hard to understand.

Chairman Mao, who foresaw the "commune" as the political structure which must be realized by the first Cultural Revolution, suddenly proposed: "Revolutionary committees are fine!"

Revolution must progress along a zigzag course. It must go through a prolonged course of "struggle—failure—struggle again—failure again—struggle again—until final victory."

Why cannot communes be established immediately?

This is the first time the revolutionary people tried to overthrow their powerful enemy. How shallow their knowledge of this revolution was! Not only did they fail consciously to understand the necessity to completely smash the old state machinery and to overhaul some of the social systems, they also did not even recognize the fact that their enemy formed a class. The revolutionary ranks were dominated by ideas of "revolution to dismiss officials" and "revolution to drag out people." The wisdom of the masses had not yet developed to the degree at which it was possible to reform society. Therefore, in the final analysis, the fruit of the revolution was taken away by the capitalist class [of the China of 1967].

Any revolution must naturally involve the army. Since a Red capitalist class is already formed in China, the army of course cannot detach itself from this reality. Yet the January Storm did not in any way touch on this vital problem of all revolutions—the problem of the army. Thus it may be seen that the [January] Revolution lacked depth and remained at a low stage of development. The degree of maturity of the political thought of the revolutionary people also was in conformity with this low level revolution—it, too, remained at a very immature stage.

At this kind of time when complete victory is impossible, to try to achieve real victory is Left adventurism. In light of the inevitability that the capitalist class will seize the fruits of the revolution, the correct strategic policy is to

enable the people to forge their political and ideological weapon in struggle at a higher stage and, through the ebb and flow of the revolution, to prepare their strength for winning the final victory. Otherwise, if "communes" are established while the masses have not yet fully understood that their interest lies in the realization of "communes" in China, the "communes" will be communes in name only, and in reality they will be sham "communes," essentially the same as the present revolutionary committees in which power is usurped by the [Red] bourgeoisie.

Therefore, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great supreme commander of the proletariat, did not hesitate in the least to go against the dream, cherished by immature revolutionaries, for the immediate establishment of communes. He adopted the correct strategic policy, and at the same time called upon the army to "Support the Left" [January 23, 1967]. "Support the Left" is, in fact, Chairman Mao's ingenious means of carrying out cultural revolution in the armed forces. . . .

The three-in-one combination is the concrete content of the Revolutionary Committees. [What is meant is the informal alliance between Army, cadres, and mass organizations which preceded the official formation of Revolutionary Committees.] Proposing the three-in-one combination is tantamount to helping the reinstatement of the bureaucrats already toppled in the January Revolution. Moreover, the three-in-one combination will inevitably be a type of regime for the [Red] bourgeoisie to usurp power, in which the army and local bureaucrats will play a leading role. Chairman Mao also called the revolutionary committee of the three-in-one combination a "provisional organ of power." It is only a transitional form, and not the ultimate product of the first Cultural Revolution. The ultimate product of the first Cultural Revolution will be the "commune" and not the revolutionary committee. . . . However, the aforementioned transitional form is necessary. To deny the transitional form is Leftist empty talk.

(4) The February Adverse Current

The force and intensity of the January Revolution caused the bureaucrats to carry out a hurried usurpation of power. Contrary to their usual attitude, they adopted the most urgent and savage means of suppression. This proves negatively the intensity of the "redistribution of property (of means of production) and power" resulting when 90 per cent of the senior cadres stood aside in the January Revolution. The tragic consequences of the February Adverse Current also prove the correctness of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's prediction that "there can be no immediate victory."

The "Red" capitalist class gained an almost overwhelming ascendancy in February and March [1967]. The property (of means of production) and power were wrested away from the hands of the revolutionary people and returned to the bureaucrats. In early spring, in February, Lung Shu-chin, Liu Tzu-yun, Chang Po-shen, Hua Kuo-feng, and bureaucrats throughout the country and their agents at the Center, wielded unlimited power. It was their heyday, while the power of the revolutionary people dropped to zero. Moreover, large numbers of revolutionary people were thrown into prison by the

state organs—public security, procuracy, and judicial organs—controlled by the capitalist class.

Intoxicated by his victory of February-March, Chou En-lai—at present the chief representative of China's "Red" capitalist class—hurriedly tried to set up revolutionary committees in all parts of the country. If this bourgeois plan had been achieved, the proletariat would have retreated to its grave. Therefore, without waiting for the establishment of all the revolutionary committees, the Central Cultural Revolution Group [of Chiang Ch'ing, etc.] gave orders at the end of March to launch a counteroffensive. From then on, the great August Storm began to brew.

In the struggle to hit back at the February Adverse Current, the important sign that the revolution had entered into a higher stage was that the problem of the army really began to be touched upon. During the January Revolution, the revolutionary people had very childish ideas on the problem of the army. They thought that as soon as the local capitalist-roaders were overthrown, the armed forces would unite with the revolutionary people in accordance with Chairman Mao's order for union from the upper to the lower levels. The bloody facts of the February Adverse Current made the people aware that the upper-to-lower order alone could not bring about an implementation of Chairman Mao's intentions in the armed forces. The common interests of capitalist-roaders in the armed forces and those of local capitalist-roaders would make it impossible for the army to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. It was necessary to carry out cultural revolution from the lower level upward in the army, and to rely on the people's revolution—the locomotive of progress in history—in order to change the antagonism between the army and the people brought about by the control of the army by the bureaucrats.

The struggle since February has placed the grave problem of the army before the broad masses (previously it had been discussed only before Chairman Mao and a few others). This is gradually providing the conditions for solution of the problem through the strength of the broad masses of the people. It has been scientifically foreseen that in the new society of the "commune," the military force will be very different from the present-day army. The struggle since February has enabled this idea of Chairman Mao gradually to take hold of the masses.

(5) The August Local Civil Revolutionary War

Since the end of January [1967], the rebels have written many articles on the problem of the armed forces. . . . Many articles discussing the problem of the army are very immature and have great shortcomings. These writings, however, constitute a new thing which history will prove to be of significance.

How well Engels spoke when he commented on utopian socialism: "Let the pedlars of the circle of authors solemnly find fault with the imaginations which at present can only make people laugh. Let them gratify themselves with the thought that their strict way of thinking is superior to such mad ideas. What makes us glad is the gifted ideological buds and gifted ideas that show themselves everywhere by breaking through the outer shell of imagination. These things the mediocre people cannot see."

There are two essential points in the articles about the army.

1. It is now seen that the present army is different from the people's army of before the Liberation [i.e., before 1949]. Before Liberation, the army and the people fought together to overthrow imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism, and feudalism. The relationship between army and people was like that of fish and water [Mao's favorite picture for describing the ideal relationship between guerrillas and the masses]. After Liberation, as the target of revolution has changed from imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism to capitalist-roaders, and as these capitalist-roaders are power-holders in the army, some of the armed forces in the revolution have not only changed their blood-and-flesh relationship with the people that existed before Liberation, but have even become tools for suppressing the revolution. Therefore, if the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is to succeed, it is necessary to bring about a basic change in the army. The "Ultra-Left faction" has found the basis for its thinking in *Quotations from Chairman Mao*. Chairman Mao . . . has also pointed out that after the troops were kept in barracks, they became separated from the people.

2. It is now seen that a revolutionary war in the country is necessary before the revolutionary people can overcome the armed Red capitalist class. The large-scale armed struggle in August between the proletariat and the Red capitalist class, and the local revolutionary war, proved this prediction. The experience created by the local revolutionary wars in August is moreover unparalleled in history and very great. Contrary to the expectations of the mass of mediocre people, history advanced in the direction predicted by the "heretics." Hitherto unimaginable, large-scale gun-seizing incidents occurred regularly in accordance with the pace of historical development. Local wars of varying magnitude broke out in the country in which the armed forces were directly involved (in some places, including Kiangsi and Hangchow, the army fought directly). The creative spirit and revolutionary fervor displayed by the people in August were extremely impressive. Gun-seizing became a "movement." Its magnitude, and the power and heroism of the revolutionary war, were so great that in that moment people were deeply impressed that "the people, and the people alone, are the motive force of historical development."

For a short time, the cities were in a state of "armed mass dictatorship." The power in most of the industries, commerce, communications, and urban administration was again taken away from Chang Po-shen, Hua Kuo-feng, Lung Shu-chin, Liu Tzu-yun and their like and put into the hands of the revolutionary people. Never before had the revolutionary people appeared on the stage of history in the role of masters of world history as they did in August. Primary students voluntarily did the work of communications and security. Their brave gestures in directing traffic, and the pride with which "Storm Over Hsiang River," "Red Middle Committee" [See Document 5] and other mass organizations directly exercised some of the financial-economic powers, left an unforgettable impression with the people.

August was the time when the power of the revolutionary mass organizations rapidly grew, while that of the bureaucrats again dropped to zero. For the second time, a temporary and unstable redistribution of property and

power took place. Once more, society tried to realize the great "People's Commune of China." Once more, people tried to solve the problem raised in the May 7 Directive, namely, that "the army should be a great school" and "workers, peasants, and students should all study military affairs." This attempt had not been made in the January Revolution. Before Liberation, the army actually was a great school which maintained excellent relations with the masses, and which combined the roles of soldiers, students, civilians, peasants, and workers. This was summed up by Chairman Mao just before the victory of the Democratic Revolution. Why then, more than ten years after Liberation, should the question again be raised of improving army-civilian relations, and "the army should be a great school"? As said in the preceding paragraph, it is because after the Liberation the army has undergone changes and, to greater or lesser degree, has separated itself from the masses. As a result, this question is again put on the agenda.

The great pioneering act of the August Storm was the emergence of an armed force [in addition to the Army] organized by the revolutionary people themselves. This force becomes the actual force of the proletarian dictatorship (or dictatorship over the capitalist-roaders). They and the people are in accord, and fight together to overthrow the "Red" capitalist class. The people, instead of lamenting the fall of the Military Region command—a bureaucratic organ—rejoice at it. Yet formerly they used to think they could not get along without it. This fact has enabled the proletariat to foresee more realistically where China's army is going, and to envisage the armed strength of the new society—the "Peoples Commune of China." It may be said with certainty that China will be a society in which the army is the people, the people are the army, the people and the army are united as one, and the army has shaken off the control of the bureaucrats. . . .

(6) The September Setback

While people were rejoicing, boldly forging ahead, and loudly talking about a "thorough victory," the great teacher of the proletariat saw a new danger on the horizon. Let us look at the content of this new danger!

On the one hand even the "Red" capitalist class, owing to the nakedness of its "February suppression of rebellion," keenly perceived the inevitability of its own defeat. After May, China's "Red" capitalists changed their tactics. In many places there appeared a trend of cadres "making appearances." One after another, Red capitalists like Sung Jen-ch'iung in the Northeast and Chang Po-shen in Hunan—bloodsucking vampires who used to ride roughshod over the people—suddenly displayed "fervor" for the revolutionary struggle of the slaves. Individually they declared support for the revolutionary masses in their bombardment of the power-holders in the military region or district commands. As at that time the revolutionary people had not yet tried to overthrow the capitalist-roaders as a class, and as the proletariat and the broad masses of revolutionary people were still under the influence of the doctrine of "revolution through dragging out people" and "revolution by dismissal of officials," people believed that the purpose of the Cultural Revolution was the purging of individual capitalist-roaders and that it was proper to

use some of the revolutionary leading cadres (who were also bureaucrats) for attacking other bureaucrats. As a result, this tactic of big and small Chang Po-shens easily deceived the people. This determined the objective inevitability that the [Red] bourgeoisie would wrest the fruits of victory of the August Storm. Meanwhile, owing to the hurried suppression by the bourgeoisie and the immediate counteroffensive by the proletariat after February, dictatorship by the revolutionary committees—a power organ during the transition to the 'Commune"—had not yet begun. There was no [protracted] period of transition in which the "Red" capitalists could fraudulently win the trust of the people and suppress the people. The people therefore could not learn from bloody facts that the capitalist-roaders were a class; and did not accept the program of the first Cultural Revolution—a revolution of one class overthrowing another. Thorough social revolution could not be carried out.

On the other hand, to realize the demand in the May 7 Directive for changes in the army, it was necessary to carry through to the end the Cultural Revolution in the field armies. It was also necessary to cause the field armies to "support the Left." As a matter of fact, without first launching an all-out campaign of "supporting the Left" among the field armies, it would be Leftist adventurism to carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution among the field armies and try to win an immediate victory.

There was also the problem of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the rural areas. If no revolutionary storm took place in the countryside, no power-seizure of any kind would represent the true interests of the peasants. The May 7 Directive called for factories to set up and operate farms, and for rural villages to set up and operate workshops. It indicated that in the new commune, the differences between industry and farming, and between urban and rural areas, will be much smaller than at present. This reduction of the gap should be brought about by launching a peasant movement—a locomotive of historical progress—guided by the Thought of Mao Tse-tung. Before the peasant movement is launched, it is empty talk to try to win a complete victory of the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. While complete victory is unrealistic, the task of the Marxists-Leninists is to show the hypocrisy of the clamor for "thorough victory." Should the [Ultra-Left] Marxist-Leninists have power, they should exercise it in banning the cry to "immediately overthrow the revolutionary committee and establish the commune" as well as any agitation for this purpose, so that the splendid name of "commune" may not be tarnished by false practice.

Meanwhile, the capitalist bureaucratic class in the Party and army began to carry out sabotage against the Central Cultural Revolution Group in August and September. They deliberately created confusion in the army, and caused stagnation in economic and other spheres. [As a matter of fact, this "stagnation" was largely brought about by the disorders during the "August Revolution."] A senior army cadre openly and arrogantly assailed the Central Cultural Revolution Group. This was their general policy in August and September. "Does the Central Cultural Revolution Group still want the Peoples Liberation Army? If it doesn't, then we will pack up and go home. The Central Cultural Revolution Group has so shifted the veteran army cadres that

they are separated from their wives and children, their homes broken up, and their kin lost!"

In view of this series of developments . . . the wise supreme commander, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, once again disregarded the unrealistic demands of impatient revolutionaries for victory and made a broad retreat after September [1967]. . . . The extent of this retreat was unprecedented. The unlimited relaxation of the cadre policy after September was in fact an extensive concession to the capitalist-roaders, who were allowed to remount the stage. . . .

But because the revolutionary forces of the proletariat have been greatly strengthened, the retreat has not ended in a "rout" as it did in February. This time the bourgeoisie has not been able, as in March, to devour the revolution in one gulp. In Hunan, the revolutionary forces bombarding Chou En-lai were not annihilated. On the contrary, they established Sheng-wu-lien and have made progress in certain respects. This is proof that the revolutionary force has grown up and become strong.

To seize the fruits of victory won by the proletariat in August, and turn the mass dictatorship again into bureaucratic rule, the bourgeoisie in the revolutionary committees must first disarm the working class. The guns in the hands of workers have infinitely strengthened the power of the working class. This fact is a mortal threat to the bourgeoisie, who fear workers holding guns. Out of spontaneous hatred for the bureaucrats who tried to snatch the fruit of victory, the revolutionary people shouted a resounding revolutionary slogan: "Giving up our guns amounts to suicide." Moreover, they formed a spontaneous, nationwide mass "arms concealment movement" for the armed overthrow of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

The August gun-seizing movement was great. It was not only unprecedented in capitalist countries, but also, for the first time in a socialist country, it accomplished the fact of turning the whole nation into soldiers. Before the Cultural Revolution, the bureaucrats did not dare actually to hand over arms to the people. The militia is merely a facade behind which the bureaucrats control the armed strength of the people. It is certainly not an armed force of the working class, but rather a docile tool in the hands of the bureaucrats. In the gun-seizing movement, the masses, instead of receiving arms like favors from above, for the first time seized arms from the hands of the bureaucrats by relying on the violent force of the revolutionary people themselves. For the first time, the workers held their "own" arms. Chairman Mao's inspiring call, "Arm the Left" [no such direct statement by Mao has been found], was the intensive focus of the courage of the working class. But the issuance of the September 5 Directive [to return the weapons to the Army] completely nullified the call to "Arm the Left." The working class was disarmed. The bureaucrats again came back to power.

(7) The Political Enlightenment of the Proletariat

The editorial of July 1, 1967 [in PD, taken from RF, No. 11] raised the question of Party building. During the violent class struggle in July and August, a very small number of "Ultra-Leftists" put forward the demand that the "Ultra-Left should have its own political party." It was felt necessary to have the

basic level organizations of a revolutionary party in order to realize Comrade Mao Tse-tung's leadership in the Communist Party, to actuate the people to overthrow the new bourgeoisie, and to fulfill the task of the first Cultural Revolution. In this way, the dream of a few intellectuals in Peking in the initial stage of the movement to rebuild a Marxist-Leninist Group became, for the first time, a practical and steadily growing demand of the fighting proletariat: "To make revolution, it is necessary to have a revolutionary party!" [It would seem that the authors of the essay advocate the formation of "Marxist-Leninist" cells at the "basic levels" of the existing Party. The paragraph, however, is not entirely clear.]

During the past several months, the class struggle has entered a higher stage. What sort of stage is it? In this stage, the revolutionary people have already accumulated the rich experience of "redistribution of property and power" on two occasions (the January and August Revolutions). This experience is the program of the first Cultural Revolution, which was produced by the January Revolution, for a great revolution in China in which one class overthrows another. It is to "overthrow the new bourgeoisie and build a new society without bureaucrats similar to the Paris Commune—the Peoples Commune of China." There is also the method, suggested in the August Storm, of gradually bringing about revolutionary changes in the Army and of armed seizure of power.

The reverses and the higher-stage struggle after September [1967] also tell the revolutionary people why neither the January Revolution nor the August Revolution ended in thorough victory; why, after such prolonged struggle, the fruits of victory were snatched away by the bourgeois bureaucrats; why the bourgeoisie was able to recapture the assets and power which they had lost in August; and why the courage and pioneering spirit displayed by the proletariat in the January Revolution and August Storm was almost completely extinguished and submerged. The appearance of a large-scale adverse current tells people that all illusions about bourgeois bureaucrats, and all distrust in the people's own strength, must be completely abandoned; and that the revolution of one class overthrowing another must be carried out.

However, the Revolutionary Committee is a product of the "revolution of dismissing officials." In Hunan, Chang P'ing-hua and Liu Tzu-yun were dismissed from office, but that did not remove the acute antagonism between the new bourgeoisie and the masses of the people. Moreover, a new situation of acute antagonism has emerged between the Revolutionary Committee Preparatory Group and the people, represented by Sheng-wu-lien. A new bourgeois reactionary line, and a new adverse current of capitalist restoration, have again appeared. A complete and stable "distribution of property and power" has not been realized. The revolution of dismissing officials is only bourgeois reformism which, in a zigzag manner, changes the new bureaucratic bourgeois rule prior to the Cultural Revolution into another type of bourgeois rule by bourgeois bureaucrats and a few representatives from several attendant mass organizations. The Revolutionary Committee is a product of bourgeois reformism.

Problems cannot be solved by merely dismissing a few officials. Bourgeois reformism will not work. The result of reformism—the Revolutionary Com-

mittee or its Preparatory Group—again brings about a new bourgeois dictatorship, which arouses even more violent opposition from the people. Events in Heilungkiang, Shantung, Shanghai, Kweichow, Hunan, and other places where revolutionary committees or preparatory groups for such committees have been established, have proved, or are proving that China cannot move in the direction of bourgeois reformism through revolutionary committees, because that means capitalist restoration. China can only go in the direction of the thoroughly revolutionary socialism of the "Peoples Commune of China" as proclaimed by the "Peoples Commune of Peking" of the 1960's [see Mao's statement of June 1, 1966, mentioned in Chapter I] The people should be brought to understand this truth and to form their own resolution to carry it out, instead of our determining it for the people. . . .

It is only when all panaceas are proved useless that the revolutionary people will resolve to follow the most painful and most destructive, but also thorough, road of true revolution. The struggle in the transitional period of the revolutionary committees will inevitably disillusion the masses regarding their cherished panacea of bourgeois reformism. . . .

The stage of struggle since last September has been educating the people in this regard about the new phase.

As a result of the practice of struggle having gained rich experience and having entered a higher stage, the maturity of the political thinking of the revolutionary people of China has also entered a higher stage. A new stream of ideas, reviled by the enemy as the "Ultra-Left thought trend" (i.e., "overthrow the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie," "abolish bureaucratic organs," "thoroughly smash the state machinery" and similar truths), wanders among the revolutionary people like a "spectre" before the eyes of the enemy. The political-ideological weapon of the revolutionary people for winning the complete victory in the proletarian socialist [sic!] great revolution has begun to appear in a new form in the "Ultra-Left faction." The Thought of Mao Tse-tung, which is carrying out a new social revolution in China, will gradually cause the masses to awake from all contradictions of the past. The revolutionary people are beginning gradually to understand in practice why revolution is necessary, against whom they make the revolution, and how revolution is to be carried out. Revolutionary struggle begins to change from the stage of spontaneity to that of consciousness, from necessity to freedom.

In the higher stage of the struggle since September, a higher stage of the fiery movement of educated youth has also appeared, as well as a higher struggle by contract workers and temporary workers. This plays a great stimulative effect in this stage of enlightening muddled thinking. . . .

When the revolutionary people enter from blindness into the stage of enlightenment of political thinking, when Mao Tse-tung-ism forms an independent, positive, political current of thought among the masses, and its political influence begins gradually to become a fact, the organization and establishment of basic level organizations of the Chinese Communist Party—a political party of Mao Tse-tung-ism—is put on the agenda by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the revolutionary teacher of the proletariat. Comrade Mao Tse-tung puts forward the principle of rebuilding the Party and reorganizing the class ranks

under new historical conditions, i.e., "The Party organization should be formed of advanced elements of the proletariat. It should be a youthful and vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses to wage struggles against the class enemy."

The putting forward of this principle for the building of a revolutionary political party—the Mao Tse-tung-ism party (Chinese Communist Party)—that will lead the people to overthrow today's class enemy—the new Red bourgeoisie—proves that in order to fulfill the first true proletarian socialist revolution, and to build in China the "Commune" delineated in the May 7 Directive, the existing Communist Party of China must undergo revolutionary changes. The convening of the 9th National Congress of the Party is not expected to settle completely the question of whither the Communist Party is going [the Congress convened on April 1, 1969]. The political party that will emerge [in the 9th Party Congress?] in accordance with the provisions promulgated by the present Central Committee for rehabilitation, regulation, and rebuilding of the Party (if such a party can be formed) will necessarily be a party of bourgeois reformism that serves the bourgeois usurpers in the revolutionary committees. The convening of the 9th Party Congress will be only a reflection of local "revolutionary committees" in the Central Committee during the transitional period. This determines the fact that the "9th Congress" can never thoroughly settle the question of whither China is going (the core problem of which is whither the Chinese Communist Party and whither the Peoples Liberation Army).

When a truly stable victory gradually becomes possible, the following several questions will become salient.

1. The unevenness of the revolution will assume prominence. The possibility of first winning true, thorough victory in one or several provinces, overthrowing the product of bourgeois reformism—the rule of revolutionary committees—and reestablishing political power of the Paris Commune type, will become a crucial problem if the revolution is to be able to develop in depth with rapidity. This is unlike the previous period, which was a blind and spontaneous stage in which the unbalanced character of the revolution played a decisive role in the development of the revolution.

2. To truly overthrow the rule of the new aristocracy and completely smash the old state machinery, it will be necessary to go into the question of how to evaluate the past 17 years. This is also a major problem of fundamentally teaching the people why it is necessary to carry out the Cultural Revolution, and what its final objective is.

3. To make the revolution really victorious, it will be necessary to settle the question: "Who are our enemies, who are our friends?" This "paramount question of the revolution" requires that we make a new analysis of China's society, where "a new situation has arisen as a result of great class changes," so as to revise the class standings, rally our friends, and topple our enemies.

This series of new questions was raised by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing in her speech on November 12, 1967 [full text in *CCP Documents*, pp. 596–601]. This speech of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing announced the beginning of a new stage, unparalleled in history, into which the Great Proletarian Cultural Revo-

lution has entered. Though this important speech dealt only with the literary and art circles, "the revolution of literature and art is the vanguard of political revolution." The joyous reviving and burgeoning struggle among Chinese literary and art circles shows the direction which China's revolution will take. Actually, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's speech tells us that the revolution in the previous period . . . was basically dealing with problems in the Cultural Revolution, and with the problem of the 50 days that shielded the past 17 years. It merely touched upon the charm that protects the bourgeoisie. It tells us that the real revolution, the revolution to negate the past 17 years, has basically not yet begun. . . .

The genesis and development of Hunan's Sheng-wu-lien represents prominently the growth in strength of the proletariat since September. Sheng-wu-lien was in fact born of the experience of the Attack With Words, Defend With Arms Headquarters (run by the people)—a form of dictatorship of the January Revolution. It is a power organ of mass dictatorship of a higher grade than those of January and August. It may be compared to the soviets of the January [and February, 1917] revolution in the Soviet Union [at that time still Russia], when power was usurped by the bourgeoisie. The Provincial Revolutionary Committee Preparatory Group also is comparable to the bourgeois Provisional Government in Russia of that time. The contradiction between Sheng-wu-lien and the Preparatory Group is a new situation in which "power organs of two systems co-exist" as the soviets and the Provisional Government co-existed in the Russia of 1917. However, the actual power is in the hands of the Provincial Revolutionary Committee Preparatory Group—the bourgeois Provisional Government.

Sheng-wu-lien is a newborn sprout comparable to the soviets of 1917. It is an embryo form of a more mature "commune." . . . This correct newborn Red political power of Sheng-wu-lien will certainly mature and gather strength continuously amid big winds and waves.

(8) Refute the Reactionary "Second Revolution Doctrine"

The current answer to the serious question of where China is going, an answer which dominates the ideological field, is the reactionary "doctrine of second revolution." People's minds are greatly confused. Almost unanimously they say: "The first Great Cultural Revolution can do only so much. There is nothing we can do except wait for the second revolution." After the failure of the Great Revolution [1924–1927], the admitted division of the country under the warlords became the rule of "Commanders-in-chief of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Army." To maintain and prop up the rule of Chiang Kai-shek, Ch'en Tu-hsiu's reactionary "second revolution" was opportunely brought forth. [Ch'en was the first leader of the Chinese Communist Party, who was expelled in 1927.] The "doctrine of second revolution" used the superficial change in political power to deceive the people. It declared that imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism, and feudalism had been overthrown, that China's bourgeoisie had gained the political power, that the democratic revolution was accomplished, and that we had only to wait for the [second, i.e.,] socialist revolution. This reactionary trend of thought not only dominated intellectual

circles in the country generally, but also enjoyed considerable popularity even within the Communist Party.

However, the task of China's bourgeois democratic revolution as determined by the basic contradictions in Chinese society—the contradiction between imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism, and feudalism on one side, and the broad masses of the people, on the other—was not yet fulfilled. Therefore, despite the prevalence for a time of the seemingly strong second revolution, the more vigorous and intensive development of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal people's revolution was still governed by an objective law that does not change according to man's wish.

Similarly, the task that has to be accomplished at the "end" of the first Great Cultural Revolution is determined by the social contradictions that led to this revolution. Unless the program of the first Great Cultural Revolution, prescribed by these social contradictions, is carried out, the first Great Cultural Revolution can never be brought to an end.

As said in the preceding paragraphs, the basic social contradictions that gave rise to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution are contradictions between the rule of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the mass of the people. The growth and intensification of these contradictions determine the need for more thorough changes in the society. This means overthrow of the rule of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie, complete smashing of the old state machinery, realization of social revolution, carrying out the redistribution of property and power, and the establishment of a new society—the "Peoples Commune of China." This is the basic program and final goal of the first Great Cultural Revolution.

As of today, are these basic contradictions of Chinese society resolved? Has the objective of the first Great Cultural Revolution been attained?

As stated above, the form of political power has superficially been changed. The old Provincial Party Committee and old Military District Command have become the "Revolutionary Committee" or "Revolutionary Committee Preparatory Group." The old bureaucrats continue, however, to play the leading role in the "new political power." The contradiction between the old Provincial Party Committee and old Military District Command on one side, and the people on the other, and the contradiction between the capitalist-roaders of the 47th Army and the people, remain basically unresolved. The contradiction between the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the mass of the people is also basically unresolved; it appears in the new form of contradiction between Sheng-wu-lien and the "new political power" [i.e., the Preparatory Group]. All the basic social changes which must be carried out by the first Great Cultural Revolution, such as overthrow of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie, changes in the armed forces, and the establishing of communes, have not been carried out. Of course, such "redistribution of property and power" was partially and temporarily realized during the January Revolution and August Storm. But the fruits of victory of both the January Revolution and August Storm were basically usurped by the [Red] bourgeoisie. Social reforms were aborted. Social changes were not consolidated and fully realized. And the "end" of the first Great Cultural Revolution was not attained. As

the masses have said: "Everything remains the same after so much ado."

Since the basic social contradictions that led to the eruption of the first Great Cultural Revolution have not been resolved but are becoming more and more acute in new forms, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is developing more intensively and vigorously, in spite of the seemingly powerful reactionary "second revolution doctrine" which dominates intellectual circles and deceives the masses with a superficial change in the form of political power. This development of the Cultural Revolution is in accordance with objective law and independent of the wishes of men. The usurping [Red] bourgeoisie hope to corrode the resistance of the revolutionary people with the doctrine of second revolution. But whoever supports their rule and sinister scheme will certainly go bankrupt, just as Ch'en Tu-hsiu's "doctrine of second revolution" was unable to save the Chiang family dynasty, and as the powerful controls of religious thought failed to stop the disintegration and collapse of the economic basis of feudalism. The new trend of thought (the Ultra-Left trend of thought) is still weak and somewhat immature. But its overcoming of apparently powerful traditional ideas, and the rotten, mummified doctrine of second revolution, will be the inevitable trend of historical development.

The bourgeoisie [in general] always describe the political form of their rule as most perfect and flawless in the service of the whole people. The new bureaucratic bourgeoisie, and the Rightist pig-dogs of the petty bourgeoisie who depend on them, are at present doing [in China] exactly that. They ignore the provisional character of the "Revolutionary Committee" while praising it nauseatingly. Marxist-Leninists must relentlessly expose the suppression of the revolutionary people by the Revolutionary Committee, must energetically declare that the Peoples Commune of China is the society which we proletarian and revolutionary people must bring about in the Cultural Revolution, and must energetically make known the inevitable doom of the Revolutionary Committee. . . .

Some people criticize us for wanting to reach communism in one step by immediately eliminating classes and the three major differences. They say that a regime of the Paris Commune type, as envisaged by Chairman Mao, is a dream; and that all this is unrealistic before the realization of communism. These people deliberately distort our views. We certainly do not wish to do away immediately with classes, with the legal rights of the [remaining] bourgeoisie, or the three major differences. This is indeed impossible before the realization of communism. They are taken only as our highest program, not our lowest. Our minimum program calls for the overthrow of the rule of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the narrowing of the three major differences. It is of course not [yet] possible to destroy the exploiting classes. After the victory of the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, there will inevitably be new class changes. It is these new class changes that will again lead to new social reform, and so push history forward. . . .

People who criticize us in this way actually are saying that all our efforts will be in vain, that society cannot take a new leap, and that property and power cannot be "redistributed" but can only be somewhat altered. Forgetful

gentlemen! The January Revolution and the August Storm already did bring about (although only temporarily and locally) a "redistribution of property and power" and a qualitative leap of the whole society. Has that not already shattered the gloomy liquidationist views you spread?

Cadres of the proletariat have not yet matured politically, and the revolutionary people have not yet produced cadres with true proletarian authority. Hence, we are almost unanimously condemned by people saying that we have no use for cadres and want to make them all stand aside. . . .

We really believe that 90 per cent of the senior cadres should stand aside; and that at best they can only be subjects for education and uniting. This is because they have already come to form a decaying class with its own particular "interests." Their relation with the people has changed from that, in the past, between leaders and the led to that between exploiters and the exploited, between oppressors and the oppressed. Most of them, consciously or unconsciously, yearn for the capitalist road, and cherish and nurture capitalist things. Rule by their class has completely blocked the development of history.

Is it possible, instead of overthrowing this class, that they can be persuaded to give up the vested interests derived from their bourgeois legal rights, such as high salaries, and follow the socialist instead of the capitalist road? The proletariat truly has made steady efforts in that direction. Chairman Mao's extensive concessions to the bourgeoisie are the pure expression of these efforts. However, the bureaucrats have once again launched a counterattack, and reverse accounts with increasing frenzy, pushing themselves closer and closer to the guillotine. All this proves that no decaying class has ever been willing voluntarily to exit from the stage of history.

In the new society of the Paris Commune type, this class will be overthrown. This was demonstrated by the iron-clad facts, so surprising to mediocre people, of the great changes in the January Revolution and the August Storm. Those who will rise and take their place will be cadres with true proletarian authority who will be produced naturally by the revolutionary people in the struggle to overthrow this decaying class [of the Red bureaucrats]. These cadres will be members of the commune. They will have no special privileges. Economically, they will receive the same treatment as the masses in general. They may be dismissed or replaced at any time at the request of the masses. Such new cadres with [true] authority have not yet emerged.

However, such cadres will be produced spontaneously as the political thinking of the revolutionary people grows in maturity. This is a natural result of the political ideological maturity of the proletariat.

(9) Refute the "Leftist" Doctrine of One Revolution

Some infantile revolutionaries of the revolutionary ranks suggest that there is no first or second Cultural Revolution; and that the revolution should proceed until communism is realized. This is the "Leftist" doctrine of one revolution. People who hold this idea are very few in number and they have a low political level. Chairman Mao's theory that the transitional period will be divided into different historical stages is the best enlightenment for them. The revolution must necessarily be in stages. We are for permanent revolution, and also for revolution by stages. . . .

Where China goes also determines where the world goes. China will inevitably go toward the new society of the "Peoples Commune of China."

If dictatorship by the Revolutionary Committee is taken as the final goal of the first Great Cultural Revolution, then China will inevitably go the way already taken by the Soviet Union, and the people will again be returned to the bloody fascist rule of capitalism. The Revolutionary Committee's road of bourgeois reformism is a dead-end.

This is because the present is the age of the great banner of Mao Tse-tung-ism; a great age in which imperialism is going downhill toward its debacle, while socialism goes uphill toward world victory. Today's world is one in which capitalism is definitely dying, and socialism is definitely flourishing. In this great revolutionary period of unprecedented significance, in this era of rapid changes, "miracles—at present not yet thought of but completely conformable to the law of historical development—are bound to happen in the history of mankind." (Ch'en Po-ta, March 24)

Both the victory of the Chinese proletariat and the broad masses of revolutionary people, and the extermination of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie, are likewise inevitable. The world-shaking great festival of the revolutionary people—the overthrow of the Revolutionary Committee and birth of the "Peoples Commune of China—will surely come.

The commune of the "Ultra-Left faction" does not conceal its views and intentions. We publicly declare that our objective of establishing the "Peoples Commune of China" can only be achieved by forceful overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship and the revisionist system of the Revolutionary Committee. Let the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie tremble before the true socialist revolution that shakes the world! What the proletariat can lose in this revolution is only their chains, what they gain will be the whole world!

The China of tomorrow will be the world of the "Commune."

Long live Mao Tse-tung-ism!

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Members of the Puerto Rican Socialist League picket draft headquarters, protesting Vietnam war.

Members of OAO (French initials for WAM) picket in solidarity with striking A&P bakers.

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CHALLENGE

The Revolutionary Communist Newspaper

February 17, 1972 Vol. 8, No. 17 **PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY** 10¢

Walkout Looms over Speed-up at Key GM Vega Plant PAGE 5

World-Wide Workers' Struggles Hit Nixon Freeze, U.S. Imperialism in:

STRIKE WAVE!

Puerto Rico's Phone Workers Cut Down Ma Bell; Women Take Lead PAGE 3

Solidarity Spreads to Mexico, Canada on W. Coast Docks PAGE 2, 5, 6

Lynn-GE Wildcats Expose Anti-Communist Sellouts PAGE 4

Canadian Air Controllers Fight for 30-Hour Week PAGE 3

Arco Oil Workers Burn, Shoot Scab Trucks PAGE 7

S. African Miners Shut Off Gold Supply PAGE 6

Irish women tell off British troops during recent confrontation in Northern Ireland.

IRELAND: GENERAL STRIKE AGAINST BRITISH COULD DEFEAT IRISH BOSSES, TOO.

On Jan. 30, workers demonstrated against British imperialist control of Northern Ireland. British bosses reacted the way most bosses do on the way down—they murdered 13 men, women and children. Irish workers answered with a massive general strike.

As we go to press, (Feb. 1), Londonderry—where the demonstration was held—is shut down tight. Across the rest of Ireland airport and telephone workers are refusing to handle anything connected with England. Bus drivers and dock workers have also gone out. In Dublin, protesters tried three times to burn down the British embassy. In Belfast, the English army has been shot at repeatedly. Students are demonstrating all over the country in support of the fight against British rule.

What power exists in the hands of Irish workers—of ALL workers! If Irish workers wield this might against ALL bosses—Protestant and Catholic, Irish and British—they could take over Ireland and run it in the interests of the working class. A general strike that unites masses of workers, shuts down production and the flow of bosses' profits, is a major step on the road to workers' power.

Once the masses of workers direct this strength, under the leadership of a communist party, towards smashing the bosses' state power altogether, then we can construct a socialist society without exploitation, slums, unemployment, racism and all the ills capitalism has brought to Ireland and the world. All power to the Irish workers!

PP. 3,5

SDS Convention to Spur Anti-Racist Fight